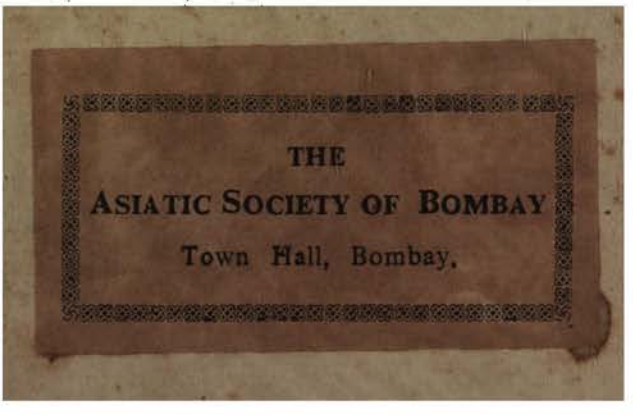

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PRIMITIVE ART
IN
EGYPT

PRIMITIVE ART

IN

EGYPT

BY

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TRANSLATED FROM THE REVISED
AND AUGMENTED ORIGINAL EDITION

BY

A. S. GRIFFITH

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To

PROFESSOR W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE

A TOKEN OF PROFOUND GRATITUDE

PREFACE.

THIS book made its first appearance in the form of a series of articles in the *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, vols. xvii.–xviii., 1903–4. In March 1904 it was published as a separate volume, without any modification of the text.

I have been much gratified by the offer of Messrs. H. Grevel & Co. to issue an English translation of a revised and enlarged edition. In this way my book will naturally be brought before that public which is perhaps most prepared both to receive and to criticise it.

The works of English ethnologists, more especially of Lubbock, Tylor, Lang, Haddon, Frazer, Spencer, and Gillen, were the first to draw attention to a whole series of problems of the greatest importance for a study of the origin of Art.

In submitting my work to the English-speaking public, I am aware that those points which ensured its originality for the French public may perhaps give the book the appearance of a compilation, borrowed from the works of English scholars.

The materials have, to a large extent, been drawn from

the publications of two English societies, the Egypt Exploration Fund and the Egyptian Research Account; from their pages I have gathered a large number of facts of the greatest importance.

I owe very special gratitude to Professor Petrie, who, with his habitual courtesy, has for more than five years permitted me to study and to photograph the relics of primitive Egypt, gathered together in his collection at University College, London. I cannot express how much I am indebted to him for the lessons in Egyptian archæology that I have received from him at the yearly exhibition of the Egypt Exploration Fund. If my book is of a nature to render any assistance to students, it is in the first instance to Professor Petrie that thanks are due.

Two visits to Oxford have enabled me to complete my collection of notes and of photographic reproduction. I am happy to have this opportunity of thanking Mr. Evans and Mr. Bell for their generous reception of me at the Ashmolean Museum.

Owing to the kindness of Professors Erman and Shäfer, I have been able to utilise much unpublished material from the Berlin Museum. I gladly avail myself of this opportunity of offering them my sincere thanks.

The cordial hospitality received from the Rev. W. Macgregor has enabled me to draw attention to a number of important pieces in his fine collection of Egyptian antiquities at Bolehill Manor House, Tamworth.

The Egypt Exploration Fund, the editorial staff of the German review *Die Umschau*, and the Society of Biblical Archæology, London, have been good enough to place several photographic reproductions at my disposal.

It is also a pleasant duty to express my warm thanks to Miss Griffith for the admirable manner in which she has accomplished the task of translating this book.

AUDERGHEM, *December* 1904.

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CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

THE extreme antiquity of Egyptian civilization lends a very special attraction to the study of its productions. Our minds are so constituted that, reaching back into the past, we welcome every fresh clue that will guide us to the starting-point whence we can trace the first feeble steps taken by man on paths which have led to more or less brilliant civilization.

From this point of view Egypt has proved itself to be a mine of information. Its numerous monuments of antiquity witness to the existence of an advanced art at a period when the rest of the world was still plunged in the deepest barbarism. Until the last few years, however, Egypt has not satisfied our curiosity; she only rendered it more intense from day to day, setting before us a riddle the solution of which appeared unattainable. At the time of her first appearance in history, at about the commencement of the fourth dynasty, she already possessed a civilization which was practically fixed and complete. Language, writing, administration, cults, ceremonies, etc.—all of these we found already established, and it was rarely that we could observe traces here and there of what may be styled "archaism." One might suppose, as did Chabas, that about four thousand years would be necessary to allow for the development of such a civilization. "Four thousand years," he says, "is a period of time sufficient for the development of an intelligent race. If we were watching the progress of transitional races, it would perhaps not be enough. In any case this figure makes no pretensions to exactitude; its only merit is that it lends itself to the exigencies of all facts which are known up to the present

time or which are probable."[1] This impression is accentuated when we are considering works of art, and one is tempted to endorse without hesitation an opinion which assigns almost as many centuries to the period between the commencement of civilization and the Ancient Empire as to the period between that empire and the first years of the Christian era.

In examining the productions of the earlier dynasties—productions that can scarcely be termed primitive—we are specially struck with their extreme realism, their mode of seeing nature, and rendering it in such a manner that we can immediately grasp their intention, a mode far more complete than the best that classical Egyptian art can show us. "Beautiful in themselves,"

FIG. 1.—THE GEESE OF MEDUM.

exclaims Mariette, "they still appear beautiful when compared with the work of dynasties that we believe to represent the flourishing centuries of Egypt."[2]

A strange consequence of this opposition between the realism of the earliest dynasties and the *hieratism* of classical Egypt was, that it led scholars who studied the question to a conclusion which was distinctly disconcerting—that Egyptian art, perfect to our taste at the commencement of the Ancient Empire, under the "implacable influence of that slow sacerdotal work which petrified everything around it[3]—the formulæ of art as well as

[1] CHABAS, *Études sur l'antiquité historique d'après les sources égyptiennes et les monuments réputés préhistoriques*, 2nd ed. Paris, 1873, p. 9.

[2] MARIETTE, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1860; quoted by RHONÉ, *L'Égypte à petites journées*, Paris, 1877, p. 86.

[3] MARIETTE, *ib.*

the formulæ of belief"—immediately began to change and deteriorate more and more. Nestor L'Hôte, one of the scholars best acquainted with ancient Egypt, came to a legitimate conclusion, it appears, when he wrote, "The further one penetrates into antiquity towards the origins of Egyptian art, the more perfect are the products of that art, as though the genius of the people, inversely to that of others, was formed suddenly.[1] Egyptian art," he says, "we only know in its decadence."

I need scarcely refer to the masterpieces of art which have gradually emerged from the tombs of the Ancient Empire The *Sheikh el Beled*, the seated scribe of the Louvre, the scribe of the Cairo Museum, are known to all the world. The two

FIG. 2.—THE GEESE OF MEDUM.

statues of Medum, *Nofrit* and *Rahotep*, are living in the memory of all who have seen them at the Cairo Museum, and photography has so far popularized them as to render it unnecessary to reproduce them here. But a fact not sufficiently realized outside the limited circle of Egyptologists is that, in addition to these magnificent works of art—which to many must appear to be isolated phenomena, appearing at a period of primitive barbarism—there exists a whole series of contemporary works which attest to the high level attained by Egyptian art at the Pyramid age. Another fact not sufficiently realized is the marvellous dexterity of the painters and sculptors who decorated the walls of the tombs with paintings and reliefs of incredible delicacy, inspired

[1] *Journal des savants*, 1851, pp. 53, 54. Quoted by PERROT & CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vol. i. *L'Égypte*, p. 677.

by Nature, which they copied with scrupulous fidelity. It will be sufficient to quote a typical example of each.

In a mastaba discovered at Medum, which dates from the end of the third dynasty, the artist represented geese feeding in various attitudes. In reference to this painting Maspero says: "The Egyptians were animal painters of the highest power, and they never gave better proof of it than in this picture. No modern painter could have seized with more spirit and humour the heavy gait of the goose, the curves of its neck, the pretentious carriage of its head, and the markings of its plumage"[1] (Figs. 1 and 2).

Another instance shows us the same perfection in rendering the human figure. In a tomb of the third dynasty Mariette discovered six wooden panels, now in the Cairo Museum. They represent the deceased, a high official of the name of *Hosi*, both seated and standing. There are hieroglyph inscriptions above the figure or before the face. We reproduce here the heads of two of the figures, which show the marvellous manner in which the artist has succeeded in seizing the type and surely and delicately rendering it with the chisel. We must admit that convention is already there. The eye is drawn full face on a head seen in profile; but, admitting this convention, one cannot fail to be astonished, and at the same time charmed, with this power of execution at a period when we only expect to meet with rude and barbarous work (Figs. 3 and 4).

We have now said enough to enable us to state briefly the problem with which we have to deal. How is the high level of art at the commencement of the history of Egypt to be explained? Was Egyptian art an importation brought to the banks of the Nile by conquering foreigners?

Theories held by many scholars—who would bring the Pharaonic Egyptians from Asia, conquering the valley of the Nile as they descended the river, after a sojourn more or less prolonged on the east coast of Africa—appear to strengthen this hypothesis, and until the last few years it has been difficult to

[1] MASPERO, text by GRÉBAUT, *Le musée égyptien*, vol. i. Cairo, 1890-1900, p. 26 and pl. xxix.

accept any other explanation. So far as it was possible to trace back to the earliest dynasties, their productions rarely presented traces of archaism, and only peculiar circumstances, such as the presence of a king's name, permitted certain bas-reliefs to be attributed to a period anterior to the fourth dynasty. It is true that the museums of Europe and Egypt contained certain rude statues, which might be dated as belonging to the period of the three first dynasties; but the attention of scholars was never seriously drawn to them, and it is only in quite recent years that their true character has begun to be recognized.[1]

Recently, however, a series of important discoveries has changed the current of research. Professor Flinders Petrie discovered first at Koptos, in 1893, some roughly-worked statues of the god *Min*, on which were carved, in very low relief, singular figures of animals, of mountains, and an archaic form of hieroglyph employed to write the name of the god *Min*. At the same time pottery was found of a peculiar type, which had previously been known only in rare specimens, which could not be correctly dated.[2]

The following year, Dr. Petrie, aided by Mr. Quibell, found in the neighbourhood of Naqada an enormous necropolis, where similar pottery to that found at Koptos, at the same time as the statues of *Min*, was extremely abundant. Researches carried out simultaneously by M. de Morgan proved that they were dealing with prehistoric cemeteries. I cannot attempt to enter here into details of these excavations, as I have recently given an account of them in an article in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*.[3] I will content myself with mentioning the principal events which followed the publication of that work. During the winter 1898-99, Professor Petrie and his fellow workers explored various prehistoric cemeteries at Abadiyeh and Hû. These discoveries, by supplementing those at Naqada, afforded material for establishing in

[1] Berlin, Bologna, Brussels, Cairo, Leyden, London, Naples, Paris, Turin. See CAPART, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, Brussels, 1902. Remarks on plates ii. and iii.

[2] PETRIE, *Koptos*, London, 1893.

[3] CAPART, *Notes sur les origines de l'Égypte d'après les fouilles récentes*, in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, iv. 1898-9, pp. 105-139, fig. and pl.

a preliminary fashion the main outlines of prehistoric Egypt. At the same time, Mr. Quibell and Mr. Green found (1897-8-9) on the site of the ancient temple of Hierakonpolis an important series of objects, dating from the commencement of the historic period, which, in a manner, formed the bridge between Egypt of historic and of prehistoric age.

These results were confirmed in the following year by the excavations of Professor Petrie in the royal tombs of the first dynasties at Abydos, which shortly before had been negligently

FIG. 3.—FRAGMENT OF ONE OF THE PANELS OF HOSI.
From a photograph by Petrie.

explored by M. Amélineau. Finally, the excavations in the *temenos* of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (1901-2-3), in addition to other discoveries, brought to light a small prehistoric town, which provided the necessary materials for a complete and incontestable welding together of prehistoric Egypt and the historical dynasties. Other excavations, carried out at El-Ahaiwah and Naga-ed-Dêr,[1]

[1] The result of these excavations is not yet published. A short note by Dr. Reisner will be found in the *Archæological Report* of the *Egypt Exploration Fund*, 1900-1901, pp. 23-25 and 2 plates.

under the direction of Dr. Reisner, for the University of California, and also at El Amrah by Mr. MacIver and Mr. Wilkin, completed the information already acquired relating to the primitive period.

The evidence thus acquired supplied us with much interesting information concerning the primitive inhabitants of Egypt, and it was at once recognized that it was possible, more especially in the rituals, to discover many vestiges of that civilization to which the archaic cemeteries bear witness. The general conclusions to be drawn from these discoveries as a whole are, that

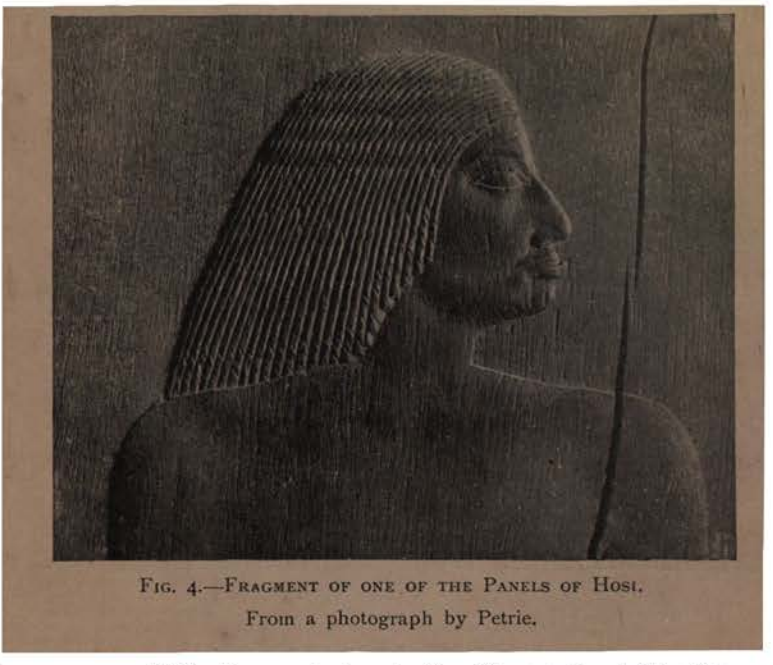


FIG. 4.—FRAGMENT OF ONE OF THE PANELS OF HOSI.
From a photograph by Petrie.

there was a civilization anterior to the Pharaonic civilization, and that this civilization produced works of art.

We must here mention the principal works in which the results of excavations were published. Most of these are in English, and are simply reports of excavations of cemeteries. The most important are: *Naqada*,[1] *Diospolis*,[2] *The Royal Tombs of the First*

[1] *Naqada and Ballas*, 1895, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE & J. E. QUIBELL, with chapter by F. C. J. SPURRELL, London, Quaritch, 1896.

[2] *Diospolis Parva, the Cemeteries of Abadiyeh and Hû*, 1898-9, by W. M.

Dynasties[1] (i. and ii.), *Abydos*[2] (i. and ii.), due to Petrie; *Hierakonpolis*[3] (i. and ii.), published by Mr. Quibell and Mr. Green; and, finally, *El Amrah*[4] gives the results of the excavations by Mr. MacIver and Mr. Wilkin in the cemetery at that locality.

In addition to these books, each of which constitutes a monograph on a prehistoric cemetery, a work by M. de Morgan must be mentioned, entitled *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*.[5] This is the only book in French which has been published on the subject. Unfortunately it appeared before the most important discoveries had been made, and by force of circumstances it rapidly became out of date, in those chapters at least which deal generally with the primitive ethnology of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley.

We must not fail to mention the work by Professor Steindorff of Leipsic, who was the first to give an accurate judgment on a whole class of artistic remains belonging to the archaic period, of which mention will frequently be made in this book.[6]

Being at last in possession of Egyptian artistic productions

FLINDERS PETRIE, with chapters by A. C. MACE, London, 1901 (*Egypt Exploration Fund*).

[1] *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty*, 1900, i. by W. M. F. PETRIE, with chapter by F. LL. GRIFFITH, London, 1900 (*Egypt Exploration Fund*). *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, 1901, ii. by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, London, 1901 (*Egypt Exploration Fund*).

[2] *Abydos*, i. 1902, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, with chapter by A. E. WEIGALL (*Egypt Exploration Fund*). *Abydos*, ii. 1903, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, with chapter by F. LL. GRIFFITH, London, 1903 (Egypt Exploration Fund).

[3] *Hierakonpolis*, i. by J. E. QUIBELL, with notes by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, London, Quaritch, 1900 (*Egypt Research Account*). *Hierakonpolis*, ii. by J. E. QUIBELL & F. W. GREEN, London, Quaritch, 1902 (*Egypt Research Account*).

[4] *El Amrah and Abydos*, by D. RANDALL MACIVER & A. C. MACE, with a chapter by F. LL. GRIFFITH, London, 1902 (*Egypt Exploration Fund*). The name of Mr. Wilkin does not occur in the title of this publication, owing to the lamented death of this young scholar shortly after the excavations were concluded.

[5] *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte. L'âge de la pierre et des métaux*, by J. DE MORGAN, Paris, 1896. *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte. Ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Négadah*, by J. DE MORGAN, Paris, Leroux, 1897.

[6] STEINDORFF, *Eine neue Art ägyptischer Kunst* in *Aegyptiaca. Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, Leipsic, 1897, pp. 122-141.

anterior to the dynasties, it becomes possible to enquire whether the question of the origin of art in Egypt can be raised with any hope of arriving at a solution.

But here we are face to face with an unforeseen difficulty. The remains are extremely abundant; the contents of the tombs furnish pottery, statuettes, and various utensils in almost unlimited number. Of all these what should we choose—of all these multiple objects which are they that can claim the title of *artistic*? The difficulty in replying to this question is great, because in order to arrive at a solution we must give a definition of what is *art*. Unhappily this only transfers the problem without rendering it more easy of solution. We know how opinions vary on the true nature of art. Each author has his special point of view, which makes him insist more expressly on one or other aspect of the subject. So much is this the case, that there are few subjects in the world of which one can say with more truth, *Quot capita tot census*.

I wish it were possible to transcribe the whole of the pages written by Professor E. Grosse on this subject.[1]—It was his work, as I specially wish to observe, which first started me on the researches which have resulted in the production of this book—but to do this would appear excessive, and I must content myself with giving a summary of them as briefly as possible, dwelling principally on those points which should act as our guide.

"The duty of a science," says Professor Grosse, "is this: to establish and explain a certain group of phenomena. All science is therefore theoretically divided into two parts: the descriptive part, which is the description of facts and their nature; and the explanatory part, which refers these facts to their general laws." Does the science of art fulfil these conditions? For the first part the reply may be in the affirmative; but can it be so as regards the second part? It appears that it is open to doubt, and here Professor Grosse proves himself very severe concerning the productions of art criticism, which, in addition to complete systems, "usually arrogate to themselves that majestic air of infallibility which is the distinctive sign of systems of the

[1] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, French edition, Paris, Alcan, 1902.

philosophy of art, of which, in fact, they constitute mere fragments. Of course," he says, "there are occasions when it may appear both useful and pleasant to be informed of the subjective opinions on art which may be held by a man of genius; but when they are imposed on us as general knowledge, founded on a scientific basis, from that moment we must refuse to accept them. The essential principle of scientific research is always and everywhere the same; whether research concerns a plant or a work of art, it should always be objective." It is in consequence of not having obeyed this necessity that the philosophy of art has not yet succeeded in providing us with a satisfactory explanation of artistic phenomena, notwithstanding the mass of material placed at its command by the history of art.

"The task which lies before the science of art is this: to describe and explain the phenomena which are classed under the denomination of "phenomena of an artistic character." This task has two sides—an individual and a social one. In the first case, the object must be to understand an isolated work of art, or the entire work of one artist, to discover the relations which exist between an artist and his individual work, and to explain the work of art as the product of an artistic individuality working under certain conditions." This individual side of the problem, if it is possible to study it with precision during the centuries most nearly approaching our own times, becomes more and more complex as we reach further back into the past, and very soon we find ourselves forced to abandon our attempt and to adopt the social side. "If it is impossible to explain the individual character of a work of art by the individual character of the author, nothing remains to us but to trace the collective character of artistic groups having a certain extension within time or space, to the character of a nation or of an entire epoch. The first aspect of our problem is therefore psychological, the second sociological." As Professor Grosse observes, this sociological aspect of the problem has not been overlooked; as early as 1719 Abbé Dubos, in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et la peinture*, opened the way to the sociology of art. Herder, Taine, Hennequin, and Guyau successively attempted

to form general theories, or else combated those of their predecessors; but unfortunately, if the results obtained by these sociological studies in matters of art are reviewed, it must be confessed that they are very poor. This can be accounted for, in the first place, by the small number of students who have realized the sociological value of art, but also and above all by the erroneous method which forms the basis of all these researches.

"In all other branches of sociology we have learnt to begin at the beginning. We first study the simplest forms of social phenomena, and it is only when we thoroughly understand the nature and conditions of these simple forms that we attempt the explanation of those which are more complicated. . . . All sociological schools have, one after another, attempted to find new roads; the science of art alone pursues its mistaken methods. All others have eventually recognized the powerful and indispensable aid that ethnology can afford to the science of civilization; it is only the science of art which still despises the rough productions of primitive nations offered by ethnology. The science of art is not yet capable of resolving the problem under its more difficult aspect. If we would one day arrive at a scientific comprehension of the art of civilized nations, we must, to begin with, investigate the nature and conditions of the art of the non-civilized. We must know the multiplication table before resolving problems of higher mathematics. It is for this reason that the first and most pressing task of the science of art consists in the study of the art of primitive nations."

It verily appears that, in the study of art, misfortune attaches itself to all the expressions employed. We begin with vague terms, which we attempt by degrees to define, only to find on arriving at our first conclusion that there again is a term wanting in precision and requiring definition.

Which, in fact, are the nations who can be called primitive? Here again the most diverse opinions have been expressed, and when studying the proposed classifications, we meet at every step with errors which lead us to review the results with suspicion. Only to quote one example: "Between an inhabitant of the

Sandwich Islands and a man indigenous to the Australian Continent there is a difference in civilization greater, no doubt, than that which separates an educated Arab and an educated European, and yet Ratzel, who distinguishes the 'semi-civilized' Arabs from the 'civilized' Europeans, combines the Polynesians and Australians in one group."

Is there any method of determining the relative degrees of any one civilization? That which is called civilization is so complicated, even in its simplest forms, that it is impossible, at any rate in our day, to determine with any certainty the factors that produce it. If we were to compare the various civilizations in all their manifestations, we should probably not attain our end; but we should be able to solve our problem fairly easily, if we were to succeed in finding an isolated factor, which would be easy to determine and sufficiently important to pass as characteristic of the whole of a civilization.

Now there is a factor to be found which fulfils the two conditions indicated, and that is production. The form of production adopted exclusively, or almost exclusively, in a social group—that is to say, the manner in which the members of that group produce their food—is a fact which is easy to observe directly, and to determine with sufficient precision in any form of civilization. Whatever may be our ignorance of the religious or social beliefs of the Australians, we can have no doubt as to their productions—the Australian is a hunter and a collector of plants. It is perhaps impossible for us to know the intellectual civilization of the ancient Peruvians, but we know that the citizens of the empire of the Incas were agriculturists: that is a fact which admits of no doubt. To have established what is the form of production of a given nation, however, would not be sufficient to attain the end that we have proposed to ourselves, if we could not prove at the same time that the special form of civilization depends upon the special form of production. The idea of classifying nations according to the dominant principle of their production is in no way new. In the most ancient works on the history of civilization one finds already the well-known groups of nations, classed as hunters and fishermen, nomad cattle breeders and agriculturists, established in

their countries. Few historians, however, seem to have understood the full importance of production. It is easier to underrate than to exaggerate it. In every form of civilization, production is in some way the centre of life ; it has a profound and irresistible influence on the other factors of civilization. It is itself determined, not by factors of civilization but by natural factors—by the geographical and meteorological character of a country. One would not be altogether wrong in calling production "the primary phenomenon of civilization," a phenomenon by the side of which other factors of civilization are but secondary derivatives, not in the sense that they have sprung from production, but because they have been formed and have remained under its powerful influence, although of independent origin. Religious ideas have certainly not grown out of the necessities of production ; nevertheless, the form of the dominant religious ideas of a tribe can be traced in part to the form of production. The belief in souls which exists among the Kaffirs, has an independent origin ; but its particular form—the belief in an hierarchic order of the souls of ancestors—is nothing more nor less than a reflection of the hierarchic order among the living ; which in its turn is the consequence of production, of the breeding of cattle, of the warlike and centralizing tendencies which result from it. It is for this reason that among hunting tribes, whose nomad life does not admit of a fixed social organization, one finds indeed the belief in souls—but not of the hierarchic order. The importance of production, however, manifests itself nowhere so evidently as in the organization of the family. The strange forms which have been taken by the human family—forms which have inspired sociologists with still more strange hypotheses—appear to us perfectly comprehensible the moment that we consider them in their relation to the forms of production. The most primitive people depend for their food on the product of the chase—the term "chase" being taken in its broadest meaning—and the plants which they collect.[1]

If we survey the world in search of tribes living in this elementary stage, we shall not find them in large numbers. Grosse quickly disposes of them. "The immense continent of Africa contains

[1] pp. 26, 27.

but one hunting tribe—leaving out of account the pygmy tribes of the centre, the civilization of whom is completely unknown to us—these are the Bushmen, the vagrants of the Kalahari and surrounding countries. In America we find true huntsman tribes only in the north and the south—the Aleutians and the Fuegians. All the others are more or less agricultural, with the exception of some Brazilian tribes, such as the Botocudos, who still live under very primitive conditions. In Asia there are scarcely any but the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands, who still exhibit the primitive state in all its purity; the Veddahs of Ceylon have been too much influenced by the Cingalese, and the Tchuktchis of the north and their ethnical relations are already breeders of cattle. There is only one continent which is still occupied over its whole extent by a primitive people—exception being made of its European colonies—this is Australia, a continent that we can also consider from an ethnological point of view as the last trace of a vanished world." Here an objection arises. Why not take into account the prehistoric populations, whose artistic productions are both numerous and varied? The reason, according to M. Grosse, is that in considering the invaluable evidence of these productions, before "being able to say with certainty that we are actually dealing here with the primitive forms we are in search of, it would be necessary for us to know the civilizations which have furnished these records."

Happily this objection does not exist, at least in the same degree, in the case of primitive Egypt, where the abundance of records is already such that we can picture to ourselves the life of the primitive Egyptian with sufficient accuracy to be able, I think, to distinguish those productions which merit the title of "artistic"; and with this we return to the problem just propounded, with some additional likelihood this time of being able to solve it.

"In collections of Australian objects," says Professor Grosse,[1] "one almost invariably finds wooden sticks covered with combinations of points and lines. It is almost impossible to distinguish these designs at the first glance from those which are

[1] GROSSE, *loc. cit.* p. 17 *et seq.*

found on the Australian clubs and shields, and which are ordinarily styled 'ornaments.' There is, notwithstanding, an essential difference between the two classes of patterns. For some time we have been aware that the so-called designs upon these sticks are nothing else than a rude kind of writing—marks intended to remind the messenger who carries the stick of the essential points of his message. They have therefore a practical and not an æsthetic signification. In this instance our knowledge prevents our falling into error; but how numerous must be the instances where it is otherwise? Who could authoritatively assure us that the figures on the Australian shields are actually ornaments? Is it not possible that they are marks of property or tribal signs? Or possibly these figures are religious symbols? These questions arise almost every time we look at the ornamentation of any primitive race. In very few instances can we give an answer. . . . Notwithstanding the great number of doubtful instances, there are also many in which the purely æsthetic signification can never be called in question. The doubtful cases also are far from being valueless for our science. The birds' heads at the prows of the Papuan canoes are perhaps primarily religious symbols, but they also serve as ornaments. If the choice of an ornamentation is determined by a religious consideration, the execution and the combination with other *motifs*, whether different or analogous, are always affected by æsthetic needs."

It is easy to see what are the difficulties of the subject, and how impossible it would be to discuss the question if one had resolved from the outset to give only definite and assured data on all subjects. It is therefore necessary to confine oneself to multiplying observations and studying the doubtful instances, in the hope that one day light may spring forth from them, permitting us to trace with a sure hand the laws which govern artistic phenomena. As it is necessary, in order to fix our ideas, to give a definition of Art, we will say with M. Grosse: "Speaking broadly, we mean by 'æsthetic' or 'artistic' activity an activity which is intended by its exercise, or by its final result, to excite a direct sensation, which in most cases is one of

pleasure." But we are careful to add immediately, with our author, that "our definition is merely a scaffolding to be demolished when our edifice is built."[1]

This has been a very long parenthesis, and it appears to some extent to be a digression from "Primitive Art in Egypt." Nevertheless, I believe it will be of service in warning us at the outset of the difficulties that we shall encounter; at the same time it shows us what we may hope for in the future from a study thus directed—that it may possibly throw light one day on the extremely interesting question of the origin of Egyptian art. Is classical Egyptian art an importation, as we have just asked ourselves? or is it a continuation of the primitive art? Was there a slow and progressive evolution; or is it possible to establish at any given moment a hiatus—a sudden contrast between the primitive artistic productions and those of dynastic Egypt? We cannot attempt to reply to these questions until we have arrived at the completion of our study; and even then, I fear, the result will remain extremely problematic in the present state of our knowledge.

As a precaution against error we will borrow from Professor Grosse the plan of his book, and also the method of dividing our matter shall be as follows: "Art," he says, "is divided into two great groups—arts of movement and arts of repose. The difference which separates them has been very clearly indicated by Fechner (*Vorschule der Aesthetik*, ii. 5). The first seek to please by forms in repose, the others by forms either in movement or following one another in time; the first transforms or combines masses in repose, and the other produces the movement of the body, or changes in time capable of attaining the result aimed at by art. We will commence with the "arts in repose," commonly called "the plastic arts." Decoration is probably the most primitive of these, and as the object first adorned is the human body, we will begin with the study of personal adornment. But even the most primitive folk are not content to adorn the body

[1] J. COLLIER, in his *Primer of Art* (London, 1882), p. 36, defines art as a "creative operation of the intelligence—the making of something either with a view to utility or pleasure."

only; they must also embellish their weapons and utensils. The ornamentation of these objects will occupy the second place in our study of the subject. We shall then examine the free plastic art (*freie Bildnerei*), which aims not at decoration but at the creation of works which are in themselves artistic. Dancing forms the transition between the arts of repose and the arts of movement. It may be defined it as "the art which creates movement" (*lebende Bildnerei*)—animated plastic art. . . . Among primitive people dancing is always united with song; and thus we have a convenient mode of transition to poetry. . . . Finally we will study primitive music."[1] The three last subjects can only be treated in a most summary fashion in their relation to ancient Egypt. Before commencing the last portion of our task we will devote a short chapter to the earliest Pharaonic monuments, the comparison of which with the primitive remains cannot fail to be interesting.

But before entering upon our subject, I think it necessary to give some dates in order to fix our ideas.

Authors differ enormously in their opinions on the subject of the date of the first Egyptian dynasty. Here are some of the dates which have been proposed. Champollion-Figeac gives the year 5869; Wilkinson, 2320; Böckh, 5702; Bunsen, 3623; Lepsius, 3892; Brugsch, 4455; Unger, 5613; Lieblein, 5004; Mariette, 5004; Lauth, 4157.[2]

Dr. Budge, Keeper of the Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities of the British Museum, in his recent *History of Egypt*,[3] having quoted the dates given by Champollion-Figeac, Böckh, Lepsius, Mariette, Bunsen, Wilkinson, and Brugsch, ends thus: "Of these writers, the only ones whose chronological views are to be seriously considered are Lepsius, Mariette, and Brugsch, between whose highest and lowest dates is an interval of over 1100 years. Viewed in the light of recent investigations, the date of Lepsius seems to be too low, whilst that of Mariette, in the same way, seems to be too high; we

[1] GROSSE, *loc. cit.* pp. 38, 39.

[2] According to the chronological table drawn up by WIEDEMANN in his *Aegyptische Geschichte*, pp. 732, 733, which gives with reserve the date 5650.

[3] BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, i. *Egypt in the Neolithic and Archaic Periods*, London, 1902, p. 159.

have therefore to consider the date for Menes (the first king of the Egyptian lists) arrived at by Brugsch."

M. Maspero, in his large *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*,[1] apparently accepts a somewhat similar dating. He places Sneferu, first king of the fourth dynasty, at 4100 B.C., "with a possible error of several centuries more or less."

Professor Petrie, in one of his more recent works,[2] places the reign of Menes between 4777 and 4715.

We can therefore admit, in taking a minimum date, that all the monuments dealt with in this book are anterior to the fourth millenary B.C.; but having thus obtained a provisional date for the termination of the primitive period, it would be equally advisable to assign one also for the commencement of that period. But here the difficulty is still greater, and a calculation can only be based upon extremely vague presumptions. For the development of the primitive civilization Dr. Petrie demands about two thousand years, and as he places the commencement of Pharaonic Egypt about 5000 B.C., the most ancient of the monuments which we are about to consider would necessarily date back to about 7000 B.C.[3]

As we find ourselves in our own country face to face with immense periods of prehistoric ages, without being able to assign any precise dates to the different stages of civilization which can be established, it has been necessary to find a convenient terminology to enable us with ease to classify the objects found. To this end a series of deposits characteristic of an age has been chosen, and to that age the name of the deposit has been given. Thus terms have been created which are universally accepted, such as Chellean, Mousterian, Magdalenian, etc. It would be extremely convenient to be able to do the same in Egypt, and in fact the

[1] Paris, Hachette, i. 1895, p. 347, note 2. In the new *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, Cairo, 1903, p. 2, the same author places the first dynasty at about 5000 B.C.

[2] *Abydos*, i. p. 22.

[3] Mr. MacIver has recently attempted to combat these conclusions, but his arguments are not conclusive. In his calculations he has not taken into account that the tribe who interred in the El Amrah cemetery may have been nomads who would only return periodically to that locality, a circumstance that would completely change the conclusions to be drawn from the number of tombs. *See* MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pp. 50-52.

Naqada age, so called from the principal cemetery of that period which has been explored, is a term already applied to the entire primitive period. In scientific books the Naqada civilization, the men of Naqada, etc., are already commonly referred to. Petrie has gone still farther, and instead of names he has proposed to make use of numbers.

Relying upon the study of types of pottery, which are extremely varied during the primitive period, Dr. Petrie has succeeded, by a series of classifications which it is impossible for me to describe here, in separating all known types into a series of 50. To these he has applied numbers ranging from 30 to 80, which numbers represent the successive periods of the prehistoric age. To these numbers he applies the term *sequence dates*. The contents of a tomb, when studied on the basis of these classifications, furnish a maximum and a minimum number, the average of which indicates the relative age of the burial.

This scheme originated by Petrie is very ingenious, and is only rendered possible by the large number of intact graves which have been discovered. Notwithstanding the various criticisms to which his method has been subjected, up to the present time no one has apparently been able to bring forward facts to contradict his results. It is owing to this system that we can say of the type of a statuette or of a scheme of decoration that they occur, for instance, between the sequence dates 35 and 39; and it is thus that similar indications must be understood, as they are met with in the pages of this book. We must explain that the numbers previous to 30 have been reserved in case a lucky find should bring to light monuments more ancient than any already known.[1] As I have previously mentioned, the point of union between the sequence dates and the reigns of the kings of the first dynasty has been established on the evidence of the small prehistoric town of Abydos, and Petrie has fixed the reign of Menes as coinciding with the sequence date 79.[2]

[1] PETRIE, *Sequences in Prehistoric Remains*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. 1900, pp. 295-301; PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, pp. 4-12; S. REINACH, Review of the preceding in *l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1900, pp. 759-762.

[2] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. p. 22.

It is on the basis of these sequence dates that we can state of certain objects that they are specially numerous during the first or second half of the prehistoric period.

I have endeavoured to multiply the illustrations, which can never be sufficiently numerous in a work where the text is intended merely to serve as a summary commentary on the monuments. The source of each of the illustrations is indicated in the following manner: When, for instance, there is quoted in the text *Naqada*, pl. lxiv. 78, and *Diospolis Parva*, ix. 23, the mark 78 will be found at the side of the illustration taken from Naqada, and D. 23 beside that taken from Diospolis. A. signifies *Abydos*; R. T. *Royal tombs*; Am., A., or El, *El Amrah*; etc. These annotations, in connection with those at the foot of the page, should, I think, render it easy to trace the originals of the illustrations. In some very exceptional cases, especially in Figs. 7 and 17, which give examples of objects which it is necessary to refer to again later, the indications relating to the identification of the objects will be found in the passage where they are treated in detail.[1]

In concluding these preliminary remarks, I do not attempt to conceal the defects this work may contain. It is, in fact, hazardous to write on a subject so new as this, and especially on a class of objects the number of which increases from day to day. I sincerely hope that in a few years new discoveries will have rendered this book altogether inadequate. I have simply endeavoured to render it as complete as possible, hoping that it will remain, at any rate, a summary of the question as it existed at the moment of publication.

[1] Following the example of M. SALOMON REINACH in *La Sculpture européenne avant les influences gréco-romaines*, I have myself drawn the greater part of these figures (except those signed with a monogram). These must, however, be considered entirely as sketches, by no means intended to supersede the original publications.

CHAPTER II.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

PRIMITIVE races paint almost the whole of the body. The only exception are the Esquimaux, who cover their bodies with clothing, at all events, when they quit their huts. The Australian always has a store of white clay, or of red and yellow ochre in his pouch. In daily life he is content with various smears on his cheeks, shoulders, or chest; but on solemn occasions he daubs the whole of his body.[1]

Is it possible to prove that any similar custom existed among the primitive Egyptians? First we must remark that "colouring materials, such as red and yellow ochre, malachite, and sulphide of antimony, are frequently found in the tombs"[2]; these colouring materials are usually contained in small bags, placed near the hands of the deceased person.[3]

There is no evidence, I believe, to show that they painted the whole of the body, but there is a clay statuette which has designs painted over the whole body. This interesting object was discovered at Tukh; it represents a woman, standing, with her arms above her head, in a position we shall find again in the decoration of vases. In the chapter dealing with that subject we shall make an attempt to determine, if possible, the meaning of this attitude.

The designs painted on this statuette are of various kinds. In the first place there are figures of animals, goats or antelopes, which Petrie remarks are absolutely identical with those on the

[1] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, p. 41.
[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 51.
[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 30.

red pottery with white line decoration. We should next observe the zigzag patterns, and finally the motives borrowed from plants. All these decorations occur upon the pottery contemporary with the commencement of the prehistoric period between 31 and 32 (sequence dates). This indicates that the figure in question is of extreme antiquity, and we may consider it as one of the earliest female figures known, with the exception of the ivories discovered

FIG. 5.—FIGURE OF A WOMAN WITH DESIGNS PAINTED OVER THE WHOLE BODY.

Grey clay with black paint.

in the caves of the south of France[1] (Fig. 5). M. de Morgan, reproducing this same figure, remarks that "it would be easy to find a large number of analogies among the tribes of Central Africa, of Asia, and of Oceania."[2]

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lix. 6 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). The examples of pottery quoted by Petrie for comparison with the paintings are the following: pl. xxviii. 34, 48; pl. xxix. 77, 85 *d*, 91-95.

[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 56, fig. 101.

The most interesting comparison from this point of view is one indicated by Petrie, who observes how greatly the painted designs on the body recall the tatoo-marks of the populations to the west of Egypt, those *Timihu* (Libyans) who, as we shall frequently have occasion to remark, present many analogies with the primitive Egyptians. The subject of tatooing we shall consider presently.

Two clay female figures in the Petrie collection, University College, London, and a similar fragment in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, are also painted with designs analogous with those on the Tukh statuette[1] (Fig. 6).

It will thus be seen that evidence relating to painting the body is very scanty, and only enables us to assert that women were in the habit of decorating the body with various patterns. Also, it is not absolutely certain, in the objects quoted here, that we have not to deal with tatooing; it is only the discovery of colouring materials in the tombs that leads us to believe that they are instances of painting.[2]

On the subject of painting the eyes we happily possess far clearer evidence: for this purpose malachite was used, ground to powder and apparently mixed with some fatty substance. With this paint a rather broad line was drawn round the eye, which, besides being decorative, had a utilitarian purpose.

As Petrie observes, Livingstone records that in the centre of Africa he found that the best remedy against obstinate sores was powdered malachite, which the natives provided for him. The same author compares the coating of colour which preserved the eye from the blazing glare of the desert with the custom of the Esquimaux, who blacken the skin round the eye to protect it from the glare of the snow.[3]

[1] My attention has been drawn to similar figures at the Turin Museum, which show distinctly the line of paint below the eyes which we are about to consider.

[2] For painting the body and tatooing in pre-Mycenæan Greece, see BLINKENBERG, *Antiquités prémycéniennes. Étude sur la plus ancienne civilisation de la Grèce*, in the *Mémoires de la Société royale des antiquaires du Nord*, new series, 1896, pp. 46-50.

[3] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 20.

FIG. 6.—FIGURES OF WOMEN. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, LONDON.

Grey clay with greenish paint. On the figure to the left the painting has scaled off, and only a few lines on the torso can now be distinguished.

The following facts prove that this custom existed in Egypt during the primitive period. Shells containing green paint have been discovered in the tombs,[1] and similar traces of colour have

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 6, tomb 522 Ballas; p. 15, tomb 23 Ballas; p. 16,

been found on ordinary pebbles, very much polished, which are invariably found with the slate palettes.[1]

These palettes, of which we shall frequently have occasion to speak in the course of this work, served for grinding the malachite, which was crushed to powder on them by means of the pebbles I have just mentioned. The fact is demonstrated in an undeniable

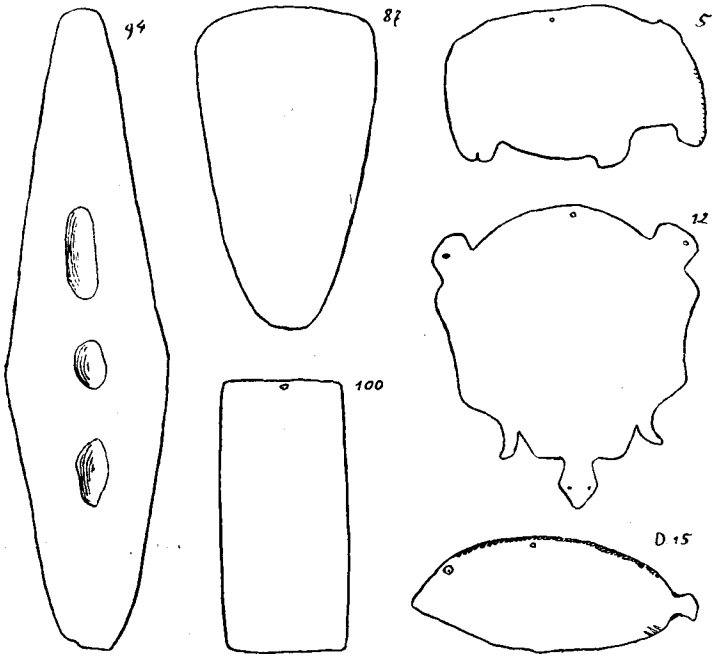


FIG. 7.—SLATE PALETTES USED FOR GRINDING PAINT.

manner by the traces of green paint found on them, and also by the cavities worn in them by prolonged grinding[2] (Fig. 7) Petrie has also occasionally found traces of hæmatite on them.

The palettes were fated to fulfil a brilliant destiny. Later

tomb 87 Ballas. The same use of shells in the fourth dynasty has also been established. See PETRIE, *Medum*, London, 1892, pl. xxix. 17, p. 34: "The shell contains powdered blue carbonate of copper as paint."

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pp. 10, 19, tomb 5 Naqada. A fine specimen of a palette with traces of paint, from Gebelein, at Oxford.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 43.

on we find them developed into real works of art, of immense size and apparently employed ceremonially.

We must mention the custom that existed in the primitive period of painting the bones of the deceased with red colour. Among the Australians the adolescent is painted red for the first time at his initiation, when he joins the community of the men. "Painting with red, characteristic of entrance into life, is employed also for death." [1]

Without more evidence than we possess we cannot determine how far this custom was general among the primitive Egyptians. I have only met with one instance mentioned by Petrie.[2]

Did the habit of painting the body, and more especially of drawing a line of green paint round the eye, continue in Egypt at the historic period?

From the earliest times the skin of the men on the monuments is generally represented as being of a brownish red colour, dark in tone, while the skin of the women is yellow. M. Maspero, in his *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*,[3] expresses himself thus on the subject: "The men are generally coloured red in these pictures; in fact, one can observe among them all the shades seen among the population at the present day, from the most delicate pink to the colour of smoked bronze. The women, who are less exposed to the glare of the sun, are usually painted yellow, the tint being paler if they belonged to the upper classes."

This explanation might very easily be accepted. It even explains the exceptions to the red and yellow colourings which we observe on a certain number of monuments, where the skin of the women, for instance, instead of being painted yellow, is very nearly the natural colour. As an example I will mention the figure of a daughter of Prince Tehuti-hetep, in the tombs of El Bersheh [4]; or, again, the representations

[1] GROSSE, *loc. cit.* pp. 41, 42.
[2] *Naqada*, p. 25, tomb 234.
[3] Vol. i. p. 47.
[4] NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh*, i. frontispiece.

of Queen Aahmes at Deir-el-Bahari, and of Queen Thiti, where the pink flesh colours contrast with those of thousands of other ladies painted in bright yellow on the walls of their tombs.[1]

I, however, am disposed to see in the singular colouring of the Egyptians a custom resembling that of primitive nations, especially as the colours employed, red and yellow, are those most frequently in use among them. Analysing the primitive "palette," Grosse thus expresses himself: "Red, especially a yellowish red, is the favourite colour of primitive peoples, as it is of almost all nations. . . . Goethe undoubtedly expresses the general sentiment when in his *Farbenlehre* he speaks of the exciting influence of a yellowish red. It is for this reason that red has always played an important part in the toilet, especially in that of men. The habit of victorious Roman generals of painting themselves red has vanished with the Roman republic . . . Yellow is of similar importance, and is also employed in the same manner. . . ."[2]

I believe it is by no means impossible to apply these principles to the Egyptians, and although I do not wish to assert that the custom of painting the skin in this manner was in vogue at all periods, yet I suppose that during a fairly long period it was sufficiently general to give rise to the convention of representing men in red and women in yellow.[3] The custom of painting round the eyes with green—or, more accurately, of underlining the eye with a dash of green paint—can with much greater certainty be attributed to Egyptian civilization.

Petrie reports that he discovered in a tomb of the first dynasty (M. 1. Abydos) some powdered malachite in a small ivory box

[1] NAVILLE, *Deir-el-Bahari*, iii. pl. lxvii. BENEDITE, *Le Tombeau de la reine Thiti*, in the *Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*, v. p. 397.

[2] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, pp. 45-47.

[3] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, i. p. 54: "Je pense bien qu'au début ils s'enduisaient tous les membres de graisse ou d'huile." Why not grease, or oil, coloured by means of mineral or vegetable dyes? See, however, SCHWEINFURTH, *Origin and present condition of the Egyptians*, in BAEDEKER, *Egypt*, 5th ed. Leipsic, 1903, p. xxxvi.

in the form of a duck[1]—a very interesting object as prototype of the numerous boxes of paint of the same form which have frequently been found in tombs of the Second Theban Empire, and of which several museums contain specimens[2] (Fig. 8).

The monuments of the fourth dynasty clearly show the line of green colour under the eyes, especially two door-posts at the Cairo Museum, on which is figured the wife of a personage named Sokar-khabiu, "who was called Hathornefer-Hotep as her great name, and Toupis as her short name—this woman's features recall the Nubian type; she has a line of green paint under the eyes."[3] The celebrated statues of Sepa and of Nesa at the Louvre have the same lines. "The pupils, the eyelids, and the eyebrows are painted black, and below the eyes is a line of green."[4] The mummy of *Ranefer*, who lived about the commencement of the fourth dynasty, was closely enveloped in linen wrappings, and on these the eyes and eyebrows were painted green.[5]

FIG. 8.—IVORY BOX IN FORM OF A DUCK.

The green powder used in preparing the paint was enclosed in small bags, which are frequently represented in the lists of offerings. They were made, as these pictured representations show, of leather or skin,[6] and the specimens found in the graves confirm the accuracy of this detail. Occasionally also the paint was placed in small vases or baskets. I cannot attempt to enter into the question of the composition of this green paint in Pharaonic Egypt, nor stop to describe the various paints in use at the same period. It would have no bearing on

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 20. Published in PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. pl. xxxvii. 1—see p. 27; *id.* ii. p. 37.

[2] An example in PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. xviii. 10, and p. 35; two others in LEEMANS, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, ii. pl. xxxvi. 565, 567.

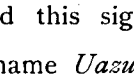
[3] MASPERO, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, Cairo, 1903, p. 40, No. 62.

[4] DE ROUGÉ, *Notice des monuments*, A 36-38, pp. 26, 27.

[5] PETRIE, *Medum*, p. 18.

[6] GRIFFITH, *Beni Hasan*, iii. pl. iii. 27, p. 14.

the subject of this work, and it has already been admirably done by others.[1] I must, however, mention the traces left in Egyptian writing and ritual by this use of green paint.

A hieroglyphic sign clearly shows the line of colour drawn below the eye, and this sign, in addition to other uses, serves to determine the name *Uazu*  of the powder and of green paint.[2]

In the rituals frequent allusions are made to green paint, occurring as early as the Pyramid texts, and the belief in the protective and curative virtues of the paint was such, even at that time, that the *Uzait*, the painted eye, was called the sound or healthy eye. This point has been rendered perfectly clear by Maspero, who has several times written on the subject.[3]

The daily ritual of the divine cult in Egypt, and also the funerary rituals, mention bringing a bag of green paint as a means whereby the god, or the deceased person, "makes himself healthy with all that is in him."[4]

Finally, a curious text is expressed in these terms: "He brings to thee green paint for thy right eye, and *mestem* [another paint] for thy left eye."[5]

The designs with which primitive man paints his skin have no persistency of character; they can be got rid of at will and others substituted. Under some circumstances it may be

[1] WIEDEMANN, A., *Varieties of ancient "Kohl,"* in PETRIE, *Medum*, pp. 41-44. FLORENCE & LORET, *Le collyre noir et le collyre vert du tombeau de la princesse Noubhotep*, in DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, March—June, 1894, pp. 153-164; also printed separately, Vienna, 1895, 16 pp.

[2] MASPERO, *Revue critique*, April 22nd, 1901, p. 308. Review of DAVIES, *Ptahhotep*, i.; see pl. v. 33 for the exact representation of the sign.

[3] MASPERO, *Notes au jour le jour*, § 25, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xiv. 1902, pp. 313-316, and *La table d'offrandes des tombeaux égyptiens*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxxv. 1897, p. 297 (separate reprint, p. 23). PETRIE, *Medum*, pl. xiii. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers, recueillis en Égypte et en Italie*, Paris, 1889, pl. xix. *b*, where occurs from a mastaba of the beginning of the fourth dynasty.

[4] See MORET, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, in the *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'études*, xiv. pp. 71, 109, 199.

[5] VON LEMM, *Das Ritualbuch des Ammondienstes*, Leipsic, 1882, p. 68.

desirable to render them indelible—as, for instance, in the case of tribal or religious marks, and thus we find the origin of the custom of tatooing.

As we have seen in the preceding pages, it is difficult to distinguish clearly from the primitive Egyptian figures between what was tatooed and what was painted. The same patterns were apparently in use for both. As I have already stated, a comparison has been made between the painted or tatooed patterns on the primitive statuettes and the tatoo-marks on the Libyans (*Timihu*) of the tomb of Seti I. This comparison, extended

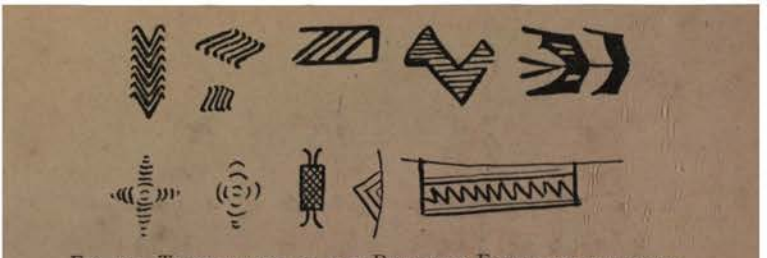


FIG. 9.—TATOO-MARKS OF THE PRIMITIVE EGYPTIANS COMPARED WITH THOSE OF THE LIBYANS.
From *l'Anthropologie*.

to the tatoo-marks of the indigenous inhabitants of Algeria, has shown close analogy between them all[1] (Fig. 9).

We reproduce here a group of Libyans from the tomb of Seti I.[2] (Fig. 10), to which we shall several times have occasion to refer. It is especially interesting to note that one of the tatoo-marks is a very accurate reproduction of the hieroglyph , the symbol of the goddess *Neith*; and in this connection we are led to consider the name of the wife of an Egyptian king of the first dynasty called *Meri-Neith*. M. Maspero writes thus on the subject: "The name of Meri-

[1] WIEDEMANN, *Die Urzeit Aegyptens und seine älteste Bevölkerung*, in *Die Umschau*, September 23rd, 1899, pp. 756-766. *Les modes d'ensevelissement dans la nécropole de Négadah et la question de l'origine du peuple égyptien*, in DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. 221, 222. PETRIE, *Naqada*, pp. 45, 46. *Tatouages des indigènes de l'Algérie*, in *l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1900, p. 485.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, iii. pl. 136.

Neith is interesting," apart from its being a royal name; "but we were already aware from other proofs of the important part played by Neith in the religion of the earliest centuries. The ladies of high position who are buried or mentioned in the mastabas of the Memphite period have, as favourite titles, those of 'Prophetess of Neith' or 'Prophetess of Hathor.' Neith appears to have been a goddess of Libyan origin, and the predominance of her cult during the primitive period is noteworthy at this moment, when the Berlin school is Semitizing to the utmost the language and the population of Egypt."[1]

FIG. 10.—LIBYANS FROM THE TOMB OF SETI I.

This leads us to enquire whether the painting and tatooing of the body had not some other object, in addition to an æsthetic one. In order to answer this we must examine our ethnological evidence. Family and tribal marks are generally to be recognized, and as it sometimes happens that a tribe selects the symbol of a divinity for its distinctive mark, there is a chance of finding religious signs among tatoo-marks.[2]

[1] MASPERO, in the *Revue critique*, November 12th, 1900, p. 366. For the contrary opinion, but with inadequate arguments, see MACIVER & WILKIN, *Libyan Notes*, London, 1901, pp. 69, 70. For Meri-Neith see SETHE, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Aegyptens* (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Aegyptens, herausgegeben von Kurt Sethe*, iii. 1), pp. 29, 30.

[2] GROSSE, *loc. cit.* p. 55 *et. seq.*

Occasionally tatoo-marks are actually pictographic, and convey a meaning. An American Indian, for instance, bore on his arm zigzag lines signifying "mysterious power."[1] Also, tatooing may be intended to serve a medical purpose.[2] The Egyptians of the classical period tatooed themselves occasionally on the breast or on the arms with the names or representations of divinities. This custom was perhaps exclusively confined to the Second Theban Empire; I do not remember to have met with an example outside that period. It will be sufficient to mention some instances of this. Amenophis IV. and his queen bore the names of the god *Aten* tatooed upon the breast and arms. With reference to this subject Professor Wiedemann remarks that Libyan influence can clearly be traced during this reign.[3] A stela in the Pesth Museum shows a personage contemporary with Thothmes III., who bears on his right arm a cartouche of that king.[4]

On other examples we find the figure of the god Amon-Ra tatooed on the right shoulder, notably on a statue of a kneeling scribe in the Turin Museum.[5] Another statue in the Leyden Museum (D 19) bears on the right shoulder a small figure of Amon-Ra, and on the left shoulder the cartouche of Amenophis

[1] GARRICK MALLERY, *Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1888-9, Washington, 1893, pl. xvii. p. 235. Examples by HOERNES, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um* 500 *vor Chr.*, Vienna, 1898, p. 31, note 4. There the author also mentions the Libyans of the tomb of Seti I.

[2] FOUQUET, *Le Tatouage médical en Égypte dans l'antiquité et à l'époque actuelle*, in the *Archives d'anthropologie criminelle*, xiii. 1899, p. 270 *et seq.* See BUSCHAN in the *Centralblatt für Anthropologie*, iv. p. 75, and R. VERNEAU in *l'Anthropologie*, x. 1899, p. 99. Professor Petrie draws my attention to the mummy of a priestess of the sixth dynasty, in Cairo, where there are numerous tatoo-marks on the body.

[3] WIEDEMANN, *Die Urzeit Aegyptens* . . . in *Die Umschau*, iii. 1899, p. 766, and in DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 222. For the figured representations see LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 106, 109. Professor Petrie has remarked to me that in this case the so-called tatoo-marks may be, in reality, small plaques of glazed pottery fixed on fine muslin. At Tel-el-Amarna similar plaques are found with the name of the god *Aten*.

[4] MASPERO, *Notes sur différents points de grammaire et d'histoire*, in the *Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne*, i. 1872, p. 151.

[5] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, ii. p. 531, figure.

[I. ?][1] Another example from the same museum (V 82) represents a sculptor who bears on his breast and shoulders the tatooed sign , temple of Ptah. Finally, a small statuette, of which the upper part alone remains, in the *Cabinet des Médailles* in Paris, shows that on the breast and shoulders signs were tatooed, the meaning of which we cannot always follow, and which bear considerable resemblance to the marks found on pottery (Fig. 11).

FIG. 11.—FRAGMENT OF A STATUETTE WITH TATOO-MARKS ON THE BREAST AND RIGHT SHOULDER.
Cabinet des Médailles, Paris.

With regard to decorative tatoo-marks, they are somewhat rare on Egyptian remains of the classical period. They occur, however, on a small figure of a woman in faïence in the Berlin Museum (No. 9,583),[2] on a stela in the Cairo Museum (No. 20,138),

[1] LEEMANS, *Aegyptische Monumenten van het Nederlandsche Museum van Oudheden te Leyden*, ii. pl. 4.

[2] STRATZ, *Ueber die Kleidung der ägyptischen Tänzerinnen* in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxviii. 1900, p. 149.

where a man is decorated on the breast with tatoo-marks,[1] and finally in a representation of a tomb of the Second Theban Empire.[2]

"The perforation of the ear, the nose, or the lips is done with a view to placing some kind of ornament in the hole thus obtained; this form of mutilation may therefore be considered as a natural step towards the second method of personal adornment, which consists in placing or hanging ornaments upon the body."[3] I am not certain that the prehistoric Egyptians practised these mutilations, nevertheless, I wish to draw attention to the use of ear-studs in the classic period; and, first, we will observe that one of the Libyans of the tomb of Seti I. is wearing ear-studs, judging from the plates published by Belzoni and by Champollion. Lepsius, in the plate of which our Fig. 10 represents a part, has not noted the ear-stud.[4] (See Fig. 19.)

In Egypt the wearing of ear-studs is fairly frequent, but only at the commencement of the eighteenth dynasty. As Erman remarks,[5] these ear-ornaments are either broad discs or large rings. During the reign of Amenophis IV. one finds that men wore these ear-ornaments as much as women.[6]

[1] LANGE & SCHAEFER, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs* (Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire), i. p. 163; iv. pl. lxxxvi. p. 465.

[2] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. 2. See ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 230 and fig. p. 216. See MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, i. p. 54, and note 3. See ALFRED HERZ, *Tättowirung, Art und Verbreitung*, Leipsic, 1900 (Doctor-dissertation, Universität Erlangen). On the subject of tatooing and painting the body among the Greeks, see WOLTERS, P., Ἐλαφοστίκτος, in *Hermes*, xxxviii. pp. 265-273.

[3] DENIKER, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, Paris, 1900, p. 209.

[4] BELZONI, *Plates illustrative of the Researches and Operations of G. Belzoni in Egypt and Nubia*, London, 1821, pl. viii. CHAMPOLLION, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, pl. ccxl. For a reproduction of the head after this plate see PERROT & CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiqué*, i. *Égypte*, fig. 528, p. 796. It is much to be regretted that the various publications of this important representation vary so greatly in the details. It is very desirable that an *édition définitive* should be made.

[5] ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 228.

[6] STEINDORFF, *Vier Grabstelen aus der Zeit Amenophis IV.*, in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, p. 66.

The woman represented in the charming statuette of the Bologna Museum (Fig. 12) "is very proud of her large ear-ornaments, and is gravely pushing one of them forward, either to show it off or to assure herself that the jewel is safely in its place."[1] These discs are found not infrequently in tombs of the Second Theban Empire, and a certain number appear to have been intended to be fixed in the lobe of the ear, which must necessarily have been greatly distended.[2]

FIG. 12.—WOODEN STATUETTE IN THE BOLOGNA MUSEUM, WITH IVORY EAR-ORNAMENTS.

Professor Schweinfurth has published a ring in brocatel belonging to the primitive period, which, judging from its shape and also from its external profile, can only have been used as a lip-ring.[3]

We now pass to the consideration of methods of hairdressing in ancient Egypt. On one of the earliest vases of the kind called by Petrie "cross-lined pottery," which was only in use at the beginning of the primitive period (sequence dates 31-34), a combat between two men is represented (Fig. 13). One of the combatants has his hair divided on the top of the head into four tresses, which hang down his back.[4]

[1] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, ii. p. 533 and fig., where the author states, probably erroneously, that the statuette belongs to the Turin Museum. Petrie's photograph of the same, from which he has reproduced it, is No. 83 of the Italian series, but has the letter B, indicating Bologna.

[2] If it is doubted that such a distension of the ear, in some cases very considerable, can be a fact, such examples as are represented by SCHURTZ, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipsic, 1900, pp. 65 and 396, will carry most complete conviction. ELLIOTT SMITH, *Report on the Mummy of the Priestess Nesitet-neb-taui*, in the *Annales du service des Antiquités de l'Egypte*, iv. 1903, p. 158.

[3] SCHWEINFURTH, *Ueber einen Altägyptischen Ring aus Brocatelle*, in the *Verhandlungen der berl. Anthropol. Gesellschaft* (February, 1902, pp. 99, 100).

[4] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 14: "M. Schweinfurth avait émis l'idée que les 'néolithiques' égyptiens se teignaient les cheveux en blond (par décoloration

Other remains of more recent date show the hair arranged in a variety of ways, the hair worn long and divided into two rows of curls, framing the face and hanging down to the shoulders[1]; or short hair in small curls, either round or of "corkscrew" form, arranged in parallel rows from the nape of the neck to the crown of the head[2]; or, again, in other instances, the whole of the hair massed in a single thick plait, which, falling from the crown of the head, hangs down the back[3] (Fig. 14).

FIG. 13.—POTTERY VASE WITH DESIGNS IN WHITE REPRESENTING MEN FIGHTING.

All these methods of hair-dressing for men are also found on the monuments of the Ancient Egyptian Empire, where in this respect the Egyptians appear to have faithfully followed the traditions of their predecessors. The single plait, however, is no longer worn by men; by this time it

à l'aide de chaux ou d'urine) ou en roux (par coloration avec du henné). M. Virchow croit devoir écarter cette hypothèse. . . ." SALOMON REINACH, review of VIRCHOW, *Ueber die ethnologische Stellung der prähistorischen und protohistorischen Aegypter* (*Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1898), in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, p. 447.

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. ii.

[2] *Id.* pl. v. and vi., and PETRIE, *The Races of Early Egypt*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. pl. xix. 11 and 12.

[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xi. and xxvi. *a*, and PETRIE, *Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, ii. pl. iv. 4.

is worn only by children, or as one of the distinctive marks of princes and certain high sacerdotal dignitaries. In this case, when we see it represented on the monuments of the Second Theban Empire, the plait has usually lost its original form, and is transformed into a fringed band hanging over the ear.[1]

The earliest female figures have no trace of any hair whatever, and it might be considered that the head was entirely shaved.

FIG. 14.—IVORY STATUETTE.
A crouching captive. The hair, in a thick plait or twist, is hanging down the back.

It is probable, however, that this is owing to the inexperience of the artist, who did not understand how to render hair.[2]

[1] For the types of wigs of the Ancient Empire, see ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 219-222. For the side-locks of children and of princes, *ib.* pp. 117, 235, 314, reproduction of the lock transformed into a decorated bandeau. This forms an interesting example of the laws of evolution of clothing as laid down by DARWIN, G. H., *L'evolution dans le vêtement*, in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, v. 1899-1900, pp. 385-411, ill. (Separate reprint, Brussels, Lamertin.) Translation from MacMillan's Magazine, 1872.

[2] Later on we shall see that hair-combs are especially abundant at this period.

Towards the end of the primitive period, on the contrary, we find two distinct modes of hairdressing, a short and a long one. In the first case the hair is divided on the forehead, and, falling on each side of the face, is cut short above the shoulders.[1] When worn long the hair hangs loose down the back, some tresses being drawn over the shoulders and hanging over the breasts.[2] A statuette discovered at Abydos (1902-3) by Professor

FIG. 15.—FIGURE OF A WOMAN IN GLAZED POTTERY.
Discovered at Abydos.

Petrie shows yet another arrangement, the whole of the hair being drawn slightly to one side in a thick plait, which hangs down the right shoulder-blade[3] (Fig. 15).

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. ix. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. iii. *a*, 8.

[2] QUIBELL, *loc. cit.* i. pl. ix. xi. See, farther on, various female figures which show numerous examples of the two kinds of hairdressing. It is possible that a certain number of rings, hitherto classed as bracelets, were employed in hair-dressing to support the curls, as they are found used in Greece (*tettiges*) and in the Punic tombs. See GSELL, *Fouilles de Gouraya: Sépultures puniques de la côte algérienne* (publication of the *Association Historique de l'Afrique du Nord*), Paris, Leroux, 1903, p. 39.

[3] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. iv. p. 25.

Here, again, we find modes of dressing the hair identical with those in use among women at the commencement of the Ancient Empire, such as are represented, for instance, in the celebrated statues of Nofrit, at Cairo, and of Nesa, at the Louvre.[1]

Savages of the present day delight in decorating their hair with various objects, such as feathers, shells, carved combs and pins, and we find this same custom prevailing among the primitive Egyptians. We first meet with feathers, which the men stuck in their hair; this is specially noticeable on a fragment of a slate palette in the Louvre.[2] The feathers worn in this way are ostrich feathers, and it is a question whether there was not a religious significance in this method of employing them. The feather is found later as the head-dress of the goddess Maat, and also it is employed in writing her name, which, in the Pyramid texts, is determined by a hawk bearing the feather on its head.[3] On the ancient statues discovered at Koptos by Petrie, the emblem of the god Min is surmounted by an ostrich feather.[4]

I must mention here that ostrich eggs have been found in prehistoric tombs, showing traces of painting and engraving (Fig. 16). The custom of depositing ostrich eggs in tombs has several times been observed at different periods of Egyptian history.[5] At Hû Petrie discovered clay models of ostrich eggs:

[1] See ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 222, 223.

[2] HEUZEY, *Égypte ou Chaldée*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1899, pl. on p. 66. See, farther on, our Fig. 25.

[3] GRIFFITH, in DAVIES, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh*, i. p. 15.

[4] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pl. 3.

[5] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. 35, 69, and 100. PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 19, tomb 4; p. 28, tomb 1480 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). At the historic period, ostrich eggs and feathers were imported from the land of Punt, and perhaps also from Asia, if we credit a scene in the tomb of Harmhabi. See BOURIANT, *Le Tombeau d'Harmhabi*, in the *Memoires de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*, v. pp. 420 and 422, and pl. iii. and iv. We must also remember the discovery of painted eggs in the Punic tombs of Carthage (GSELL, *Fouilles de Gouraya*, Paris, 1903, pp. 35-37, where the author questions whether ostrich eggs were not decorated by the Greeks of Egypt or of Asia Minor), and even in a tomb of the valley of Bétis in Spain (*l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1901, p. 469). See also PETRIE, *Naukratis*, i. p. 14 and pl. xx. 15. It must, nevertheless, be remembered that the ostrich egg was employed for industrial

one of these is decorated with black zigzag lines in imitation of cords[1]; the others are simply painted with white spots[2] (Fig 16).

The ostrich feather almost without exception is found placed in the hair of lightly-armed soldiers of ancient times, and a trace of this is preserved in the hieroglyph .[3] The Libyans of the tomb of Seti I. have two feathers stuck in their hair.

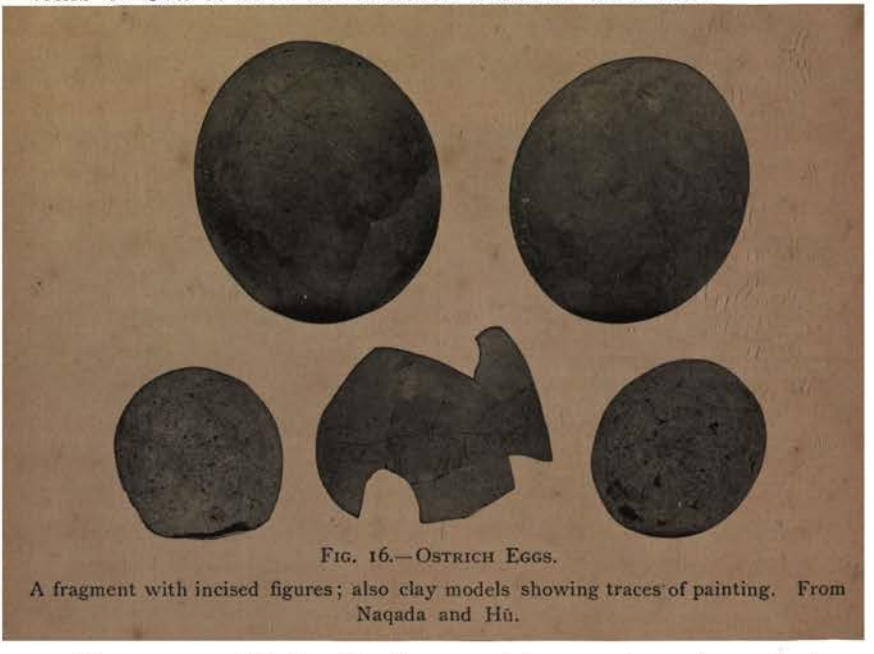


FIG. 16.—OSTRICH EGGS.

A fragment with incised figures; also clay models showing traces of painting. From Naqada and Hû.

The women delighted in the use of decorated combs and pins for fastening up their hair; these were made of bone or ivory,

purposes. See TYLOR & GRIFFITH, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab*, pl. iv. and p. 18. PETRIE, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. xxii. and p. 19. PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, p. 32. Mr. J. L. Myres contributes the following interesting note relative to the persistence of the commerce in ostrich eggs in the north of Africa: "The transsaharan trade in ostrich eggs persists. The eggs, as far as I could ascertain in Tunis and Tripoli (in 1897), come viâ Kano, along with the consignments of feathers, and emerge at the Mediterranean seaboard termini, where they are in request as pendant ornaments in the mosques."

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, pl. v. and p. 33 (tomb B 101).

[2] *Hû*, tomb B 262 and B 56 (2 examples), (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

[3] See the remarks of MAX MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 3 *et seq.*

and were often decorated at the top with figures of animals; occasionally even a human figure is found on them. Petrie remarks that these combs were especially numerous at the commencement of the prehistoric period between 33 and 44 (sequence dates), while the pins, of which the most common type is decorated with a small figure of a bird, are found throughout the whole of the prehistoric period [1] (Fig. 17). We shall have an opportunity of examining these more in detail when studying ornamental art, but we will here observe that it is possible these combs and hairpins had a magical purpose, as is notably the case in China.[2]

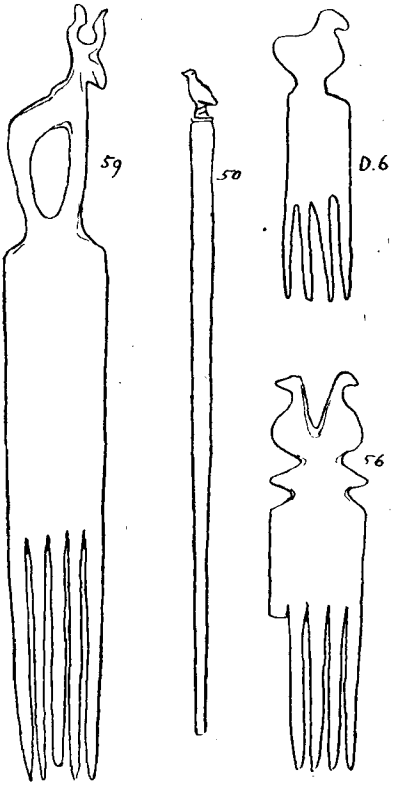


FIG. 17.—COMBS AND A PIN, DECORATED WITH ANIMAL AND BIRD FIGURES.

The art of decorating the hair and of arranging it in a complicated manner does not appear to have been raised to any high level in primitive Egypt. Nevertheless, there are certain indications which seem to point to a more elevated ideal. Is it not possible to recognize in the head-dresses of certain kings, queens, and divinities on monuments of the classical period survivals of

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 21. See pl. vi., where pins, a combined comb and pin, and also a spoon are to be seen still entangled in the hair of a woman.

[2] J. J. M. DE GROOT, *The Religious System of China*, i. pp. 55-57: "Among the hairpins provided for a woman's burial is almost always one which is adorned with small silver figures of a stag, a tortoise, a peach, and a crane. These being emblems of longevity, it is supposed that the pin which is adorned with them will absorb some of their life-giving power, and communicate it to the woman in whose hair it is ultimately fastened." Example quoted by FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed. i. p. 48.

earlier fashions? Observe, for example, the head-dress worn by the queens, which is formed of the feathers of a vulture, with the head of the bird arranged in front of the forehead.[1] A large number of instances of decorations for the hair comparable with those of Egypt can be furnished by ethnology.[2]

One solitary fact bears witness to the honour in which elaborate hairdressing was held in primitive Egypt, and that is the custom of depositing in the tombs head-rests, which were used during sleep to preserve artistic coiffures, not intended to be renewed every day, and which it was desirable to keep in good order as long as possible.[3]

FIG. 18.—BAND OF FALSE HAIR.
From the tomb of King Zer, of the first dynasty.

Under the Ancient Empire the charge of the king's hair and of his wigs was bestowed on great personages. Maspero mentions an inspector of wig-makers to the king, and also a director of wig-makers to the king, contemporary with with the fourth and fifth dynasties.[4] Petrie discovered in the tomb of King Zer, of the first dynasty, at Abydos, a band of false hair (Fig. 18), composed of curls, and apparently intended

[1] See an example of this head-dress upon the stela of Queen Nubkhas in the Louvre (C 13), dating back to the thirteenth dynasty. It is the earliest example I know.

[2] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, pp. 67, 68.

[3] SCHURTZ, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipsic, 1900, p. 359 *et seq.*

[4] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, i. p. 278, note 1.

to be worn on the forehead.[1] The Libyans of the tomb of Seti I. are wearing two rows of similar curls between their hair, which is divided and falls on both sides of the head (Fig. 19).

Very numerous examples show that the men ordinarily wore their beards trimmed to a point. We shall meet with some of these when we are considering representations of the human figure.

FIG. 19.—HEAD OF ONE OF THE LIBYANS FROM THE TOMB OF SETI I.
Showing the ear-ring, the rows of curls on the forehead, and the hair falling over the right shoulder.

We must here pause a moment to consider a curious figure in the MacGregor Collection[2] (Fig. 20), where the hair, as well as the beard, is enveloped in a kind of pouch which completely conceals them. If it is not, as Naville suggests, "a

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. iv. 7 and p. 5: "The fringe of locks is exquisitely made, entirely on a band of hair, showing a long acquaintance with hair work at that age. It is now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford."

[2] NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. 1900, pl. vi. and p. 68.

conventional or childish representation of hair," one might here recognize an object related to the royal toilettes of the classical period, where a false beard was affixed by means of straps. What can have been the object of this sort of covering? Was it used in order to ensure purity, for instance, during religious ceremonies? May not the custom which prevailed among the Egyptian priests of completely shaving themselves have been simply a radical measure for avoiding all contamination that

FIG. 20.—FIGURE FROM THE MACGREGOR COLLECTION.
With a bag for the hair and beard, and a sheath to protect the lower part of the body.

might arise from the hair and beard?[1] This is merely a suggestion which I throw out, and on which I do not wish to insist unduly.[2] A comparison might be suggested with the

[1] One might compare this with the habit of our modern surgeons, who occasionally cover the hair and beard during operations in order to avoid any risk of infection for the patient.

[2] On the subject of wearing a natural or false beard see ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, especially pp. 225, 226, and the various passages quoted in the index under "Beard." The motive suggested by MORET, *Coup d'œil sur l'Égypte primitive*, p. 5, for the wearing of wigs and false beards, seems to me to be unfounded.

padân of the Magian[1] religion; or, again, with the Jewish custom of covering the beard as a sign of mourning.[2]

There is a small series of interesting objects which affords a proof that the custom of covering the lower part of the face with a veil was already known in the second half of the primitive period (sequence dates 50-61). These are small objects of shell, of limestone, or, more rarely, of copper, which were suspended in front of the forehead. At the base is a hook, which, as Petrie has conjectured, was used to support a veil. One of these pendants has been found still in position upon a skull, and shows clearly the manner in which it was worn. One specimen, decorated with lines in imitation of plaited work, points to the fact that these pendants were also made of woven fibre, and this would explain their rarity in the tombs, as only those in more enduring materials would survive (Fig. 21). Other specimens have not the hook at the lower end, and must therefore have been worn merely as ornaments on the forehead. Two specimens belonging to the Petrie Collection are in the form of female figures.

It is possible that the pendants and veil before the face were worn by men as well as by women, or even exclusively by men, to judge by the custom of the Touaregs, and also of certain Arabs.[3] After prehistoric times in Egypt there are no traces of this custom of veiling the face, and it

[1] In the Magian religion the officiant has the lower part of the face covered with a veil, the *padân* (av. paitidâna), which prevents the breath from defiling the sacred fire, and the hands covered with gloves. Cf. DARMESTETER, *Zend Avesta*, i. p. lxi. He also wears the *padân* in eating, in order not to contaminate the food, which he swallows at one gulp between two intakings of breath—*ib.* ii. p. 214, No. 31. The *padân* was worn by the magi of Cappadocia, at the time of Strabo (Augustus), xv. 733*c*, τιάρας πιλωτὰς καθεικνίας ἑκατέρωθεν μέχρι τοῦ καλύπτειν τὰ Χείλη τὰς παραγναθίδας.—(Note contributed by M. Franz Cumont.)

[2] BENZINGER, *Hebräische Archäologie* (Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften, Zweite Reihe, Erster Band), Freiburg i. B. and Leipsic, 1894, p. 165.

[3] FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed. i. p. 313: "Among the Touaregs of the Sahara all the men (and not the women) keep the lower part of their face, especially the mouth, veiled constantly; the veil is never put off, not even in eating or sleeping." Also note 3: "Amongst the Arabs men sometimes veiled their faces."

was the Arabs who introduced it once more in the seventh century A.D.[1]

Grosse, in his book *Les Débuts de l'Art*,[2] refers to an interesting remark of Lippert: "The principle followed in selecting the

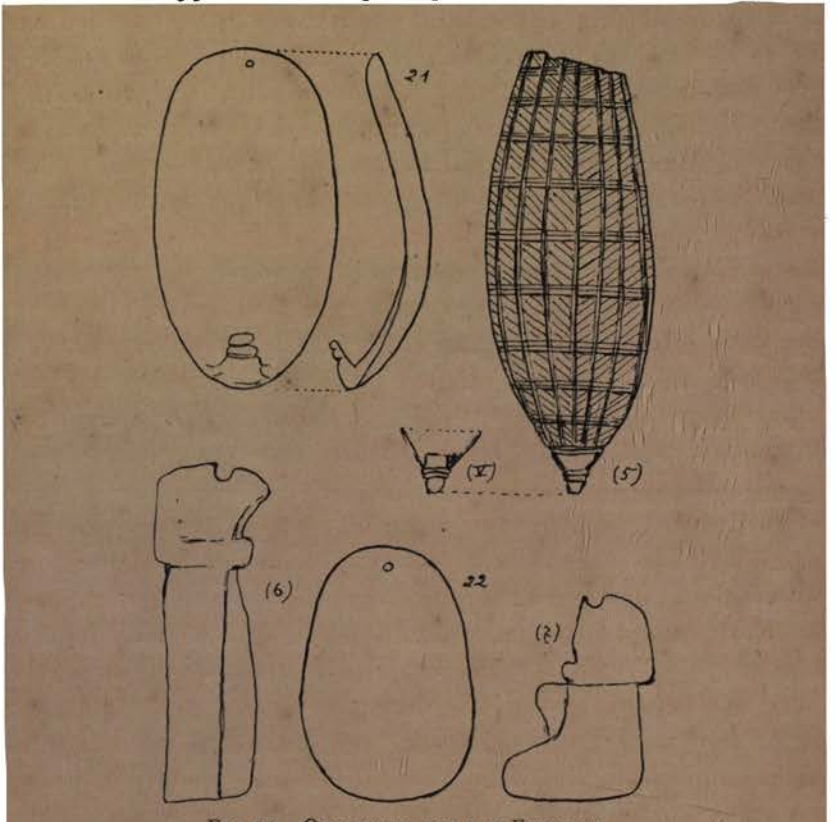


FIG. 21.—ORNAMENTS FOR THE FOREHEAD.
The two upper ornaments have been used for hanging a veil before the face.

portions of the body to be adorned with ornaments is governed by practical considerations, and is a principle into which con-

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxii. 21-23, and p. 47; *Diospolis parva*, pl. iii. and p. 22. *Prehistoric Egyptian Carvings*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 113, pp. 161, 162, and pl. l. 5-7. See SOCIN, A., *Doctrines of El Islam*, in BAEDEKER, *Egypt*, 5th ed. 1902, p. lxvii. "The practice of wearing veils dates from very remote times (Gen. xxiv. 65; Isa. iii. 22, 23), though it is doubtful whether it was customary among the ancient Egyptians, as veiled women never appear upon the monuments."

[2] Pp. 63, 64.

siderations of ideal arrangement do not enter. . . . The parts of the body which are destined to carry ornaments are those contracted above larger portions which are bony or muscular. These parts are the following: the forehead and the temples, with the projecting bones below and the support afforded by the ear, the neck and shoulders, the sides and hips; with the legs it is the part above the ankles; with the arms, the biceps, the wrist, and in a lesser degree the fingers. Primitive man makes use of all these for affixing ornaments; but he was not led to this choice by æsthetic reasons, but by purely practical considerations."

We have already spoken of the arrangement of the hair among the primitive Egyptians. We must now study their necklaces, waist-belts, bracelets, and rings, and see in what manner clothing may have developed out of these entirely elementary decorations.

The simplest form of such decoration consists in attaching to different parts of the body "thongs of leather, sinews of animals, or herbaceous fibres."[1] These in turn were hung with shells, beads, claws of animals, etc.

In Egypt shells frequently occur in prehistoric tombs. Pierced with a hole, they were evidently used as ornaments,[2] and their use was continued into historical times, when shells were even imitated in glazed pottery, or in metal, to form parts of necklaces. I must content myself with a mere reference to the marvellous jewels found at Dahchour by M. de Morgan.[3]

A large number of beads have been discovered in the tombs of the primitive Egyptians, of which the forms remain practically the same throughout the whole of the prehistoric period. This is not the case with the materials of which they were made and Petrie has drawn up a chronological list of these with considerable detail.[4]

Most of the ivory objects found in the tombs, which Petrie believes to be stoppers for leather bottles, I am inclined to consider as necklace ornaments. "They are a species of pendant, formed

[1] DENIKER, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, p. 211 *et seq.*

[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 59.

[3] DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, March—June, 1894, Vienna, 1895, pl. xxiii. and xxiv.

[4] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, pl. iv. and p. 27.

by the severed end of the rib or tusk of an animal, often pierced at the top—consequently, they must have been worn point downwards—deeply grooved at the wider end, and covered with broken lines or with rudimentary geometric designs"[1] (Fig. 22). Some of these pendants are of stone; others are hollow, and may have been used as vases. At the upper end of most of these there is a deep groove to allow of their being suspended by means of a thong, which also passed through the hole with which many of them are pierced. Numerous traces of leather have been found in these cavities.[2]

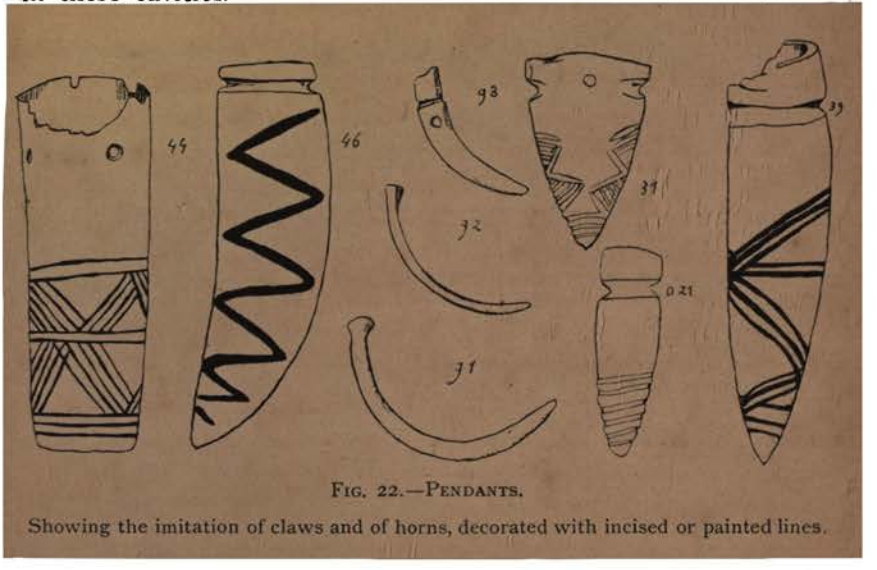


FIG. 22.—PENDANTS.
Showing the imitation of claws and of horns, decorated with incised or painted lines.

We shall have opportunity to discuss these pendants more in detail when we treat of ornamental art. It should, however, be observed that a certain number of these ornaments are made in imitation of horns or claws, and are merely a conventional copy of still more rudimentary ornaments. We can compare them with the collars of the Bushmen, "the cords made of tendons and painted with red ochre, from which are suspended shells, teeth, claws, the carapaces of turtles, antelope horns, and other objects, serving partly as receptacles for tobacco and

[1] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 62, 63.
[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pp. 46, 47, pl. lix.-lxiv.; *Diospolis parva*, p. 21, pl. iii.

unguents, partly as amulets, and for the most part as objects of personal adornment."[1]

I need scarcely remark on the prevalent use of beads and pendants in Pharaonic Egypt. A collection such as that of Professor Petrie at University College, London, is highly instructive with regard to these objects. Such a wealth of pendants for necklaces—comprising claws, shells, and various amulets—is well worth studying, as they are rarely found figured on the monuments. It is not always justifiable to deny the existence of a custom from an argument based solely on the absence of an object from the figured monuments of Egypt.

Beads and other pendants were not only used for necklaces; they were also employed as decorations for girdles, bracelets, and anklets. The jewellery found by Petrie in the tomb of King Zer, of the first dynasty, enables us to appreciate the skill already acquired by the Egyptians at that period in combining and grouping various materials and producing results which are truly marvellous. The perfection of the jewellery is so great that, as Petrie remarks, with the exception of the gold beads, there is no bead in any one of the bracelets which could be exchanged for any other of another bracelet, without completely destroying the harmony of the whole.[2]

But, besides these bracelets formed of separate pieces, we must notice the simple circlets made of various materials. They are found in ivory, bone, copper, shell, flint, hard stone, etc.[3] This use survived into historical times, and the tombs of the first dynasty at Abydos have yielded an immense number of fragments of bracelets in ivory, horn, shell, slate, and stone.[4] A

[1] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, p. 68.

[2] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl i. pp. 16-19.

[3] See QUIBELL, *El Kab*, pp. 6, 7, 9, 10, 18, and pl. ii. 2. PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xliii. pp. 34, 42, 47. Alabaster: PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 29. Shell: *ib.* pp. 14, 47. Horn, *ib.* pp. 14, 47. Copper: PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 37. Ivory: PETRIE, *Naqada*, pp. 5, 14, 29, 47; *Diospolis parva*, p. 21, pl. x. Bone: PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. x. 23. Beads: *ib.* p. 33. Schist: PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 14. Flint: *ib.* pp. 14, 51, 59; *Diospolis*, p. 36; *Abydos*, i. p. 16.

[4] Shell: PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. p. 17. Horn: PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. p. 39. Ivory: *ib.* ii. pp. 24, 35, 37; *Abydos*, i. p. 5. Stone: *Royal Tombs*, ii. pp. 35, 37. Schist: *Abydos*, i. p. 17. Bracelets of Aha: *Royal Tombs*, i. pp. 5, 18, 29; ii. p. 5. Bracelets of Zer: *ib.* ii. pp. 17, 18.

spoon[1] (Fig. 23), the handle of which resembles an arm adorned with a large number of these bracelets, similar in size and form, shows us that they were worn in numbers sufficient to form a sort of armature. Pleyte observes that this recalls the "Danga Bohr" which Schweinfurth found among the Bongoes.[2]

Petrie discovered a tomb containing the body of a child, wearing on the arm nine or ten of these ivory rings, and he mentions, in connection with this fact, that a carving of a woman of the reindeer age in France shows the same system

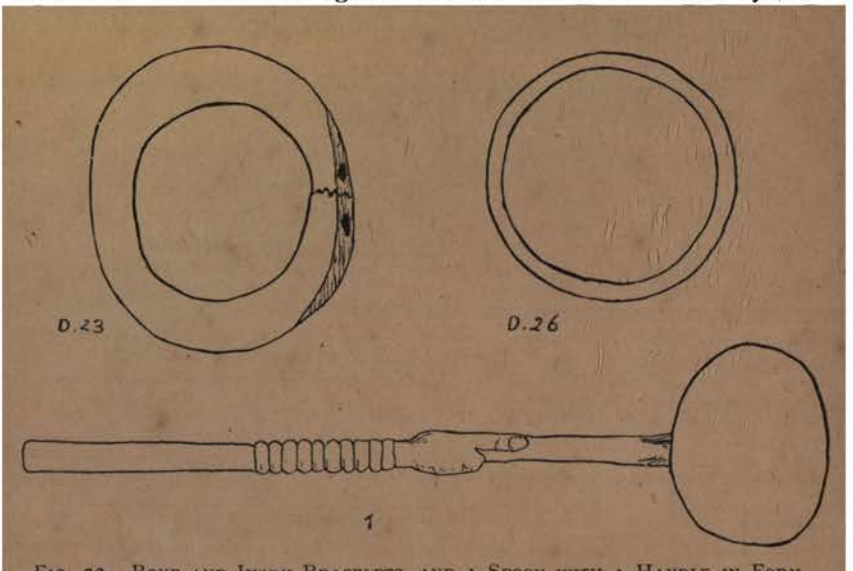


FIG. 23.—BONE AND IVORY BRACELETS, AND A SPOON WITH A HANDLE IN FORM OF AN ARM WEARING A SERIES OF SIMILAR BRACELETS.

of ornamentation.[3] It is probable that these rings were also worn on the legs, as shown in the representation of the chief of the land of Punt at Deir-el-Bahari.[4]

As a question of stone-working it is astonishing to find primitive man making rings in flint.[5] Many conjectures have

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xliii. 1 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

[2] PLEYTE, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, i. pp. 147, 148. SCHWEINFURTH, *Artes Africanae*, Leipsic and London, 1875, pl. iii. 12.

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pp. 42 and 47.

[4] PLEYTE, *ib.* fig. facing p. 147.

[5] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. pp. 60, 61.

been hazarded to explain the manner in which this was accomplished, but it remained for the fortunate discoveries of Seton Karr at Wady-el-Sheikh to show us all the phases of the work.[1] The frequent occurrence on Egyptian monuments of Pharaonic times of collars, bracelets, and anklets has frequently been remarked on, and we need not therefore dwell longer on that point.[2]

The primitive Egyptian was also well acquainted with finger-rings, especially in ivory, either plain or decorated with a knob. Two very curious specimens show that occasionally they were

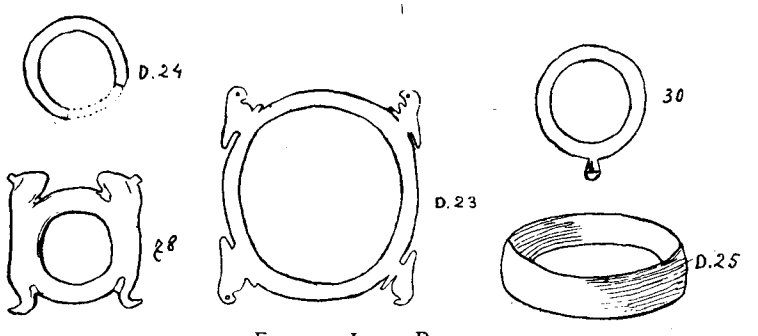


FIG. 24.—IVORY RINGS.

decorated with figures of animals; one of these has two feline animals on it,[3] and on the other are four hawks[4] (Fig. 24).

So far we have not dealt with the decoration of the hips, and this because there is not, to my knowledge, any monument of the primitive period which shows us such a decoration. There exists no statuette, no drawing, on which we can see a thong of leather round the waist adorned with beads or pendants. But it is difficult to say whether the beads and pendants which

[1] SCHWEINFURTH, *Aegyptischer Ringe aus Kieselmasse*, in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxi. 1899, p. 496 *et seq.* FORBES, *On a collection of stone implements in the Mayer Museum, made by M. H. W. Seton Karr, in mines of the ancient Egyptians discovered by him on the plateaux of the Nile Valley*, in the *Bulletin Liverpool Museum*, ii. Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 78-80, and fig. on p. 82.

[2] ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 227.

[3] A specimen in the MacGregor Collection, Tamworth (No. 1,409 *a*).

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxii. 30; lxiv. 78 and p. 47. *Diospolis*, ix. 23; x. 24, 25, and pp. 21, 22.

have been discovered may not have decorated that part of the body as appropriately as they did the neck, arms, and legs. By analogy, therefore, we can imply the use of ornamental girdles; and here we verge on the interesting subject of the origin of clothing.

"The skin of an animal is suspended from the cord tied round the throat, and forthwith it is transformed into a mantle. With the Fuegians this piece of skin is so scanty that, in order to protect the body effectually, it has to be turned, following the direction of the wind. The thong round the waist, the belt, is also hung with various appendages, and becomes a petticoat.

"The leafy branches which are thrust by the Veddahs under their waist-belts, the pieces of bark held by the same belt among the Niam-Niam, the 'sarang' of the Indo-Malay, which supplies the elements both of petticoat and of girdle—all these are the prototype of the petticoat."[1]

Writing of the indigenous inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, Grosse expresses himself as follows: "There is, however, one tribe the women of which wear nothing round the waist but a very fine string, from which some quite short fibres hang; this must evidently be a mere ornament."[2]

Erman has already remarked that, under the Ancient Empire, the Egyptians of the lower classes, principally those who were brought by their occupation into habitual contact with water, are occasionally represented as absolutely nude; while their fellow workers, for the most part, are wearing only a narrow girdle with a few short strips hanging down in front.[3] These can scarcely be called articles of clothing; and yet one would hesitate to call them ornaments, if one were not assured by numerous ethnological parallels.

I may add that in some cases this simple cord knotted round the loins served as an amulet. On this subject I will quote the curious observation of Dr. Stacquez, who, on the

[1] DENIKER, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, p. 312.
[2] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, p. 70.
[3] ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 212.

subject of the modern population of Thebes, writes thus: "The greater number of boys were entirely nude, and among them were some who might have been fifteen years old. But they all wore a fine thread round their bodies in form of a girdle. To go entirely naked was the natural course of events for these folks, but it would have been the height of indecency to have omitted to tie a thread round their loins, and no one would have dared to show himself in that state. I asked the reason of such a custom, and I was told that it had always existed—that it was considered that the thread concealed their nakedness, and that it represented the garments that they could not wear owing to the high temperature of the country. I myself believe that the thread should be considered as a species of amulet, and for this reason: in some parts of Egypt it is the habit to have a small cord tied by the sheikh round the wrists and ankles as a preservative against sprains and other accidents while working or walking. It is therefore possible that the thread encircling the loins among the inhabitants of Thebes is a similar practice passed into a habit, of which the reason is forgotten."[1]

It should also be remembered that under the Second Theban Empire the young female slaves and the dancing women wore as their only clothing a girdle, which occasionally may have been ornamented.[2]

Let us see how this was during the primitive age. On the famous painted tomb of Hierakonpolis, with which we shall later have to deal at length, there are several personages whose only garment appears to be a girdle knotted round the waist. The same is seen on the palettes and mace-heads from the same locality, where the forms are already verging on those of the Ancient Empire.[3]

[1] STACQUEZ, *L'Égypte, la basse Nubie et le Sinaï*, Liége, 1865, pp. 252, 253. See also MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, ii. p. 526.

[2] ERMAN, *loc. cit.* p. 216. STRATZ, *Ueber die Kleidung der ägyptischen Tänzerinnen*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, xxxviii. 1900, pp. 148, 149.

[3] CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, in the *Revue d'histoire des religions*, xliii. 1901, p. 255.

To this girdle various objects were attached, and two of these can be recognized on existing objects with considerable precision. One is the tail of an animal; the other is a sheath for protecting or concealing the lower part of the body.

The warriors or huntsmen that we find represented on the fragment of the Louvre palette wear the tail of an animal, possibly a jackal, attached to their girdle (Fig. 25). It is interesting to note that this caudiform decoration is found among a considerable number of nations.[1] In Egypt, during the Pharaonic age, the tail is an ornament of princes and priests, and the Marseilles Museum actually possesses a specimen in wood.[2] The representations of tails on the objects found at Hierakonpolis form exactly the transition between the tails of the primitive period of the Louvre palette, and those of the king and gods on Egyptian classical monuments.

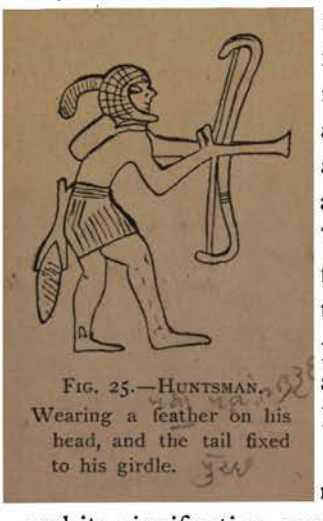


FIG. 25.—HUNTSMAN, Wearing a feather on his head, and the tail fixed to his girdle.

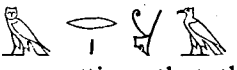
With reference to the sheath just mentioned, its purpose has been recognized and its signification explained by M. Naville.[3] It can be specially well recognized on the statuette in the MacGregor Collection figured above (Fig. 20), and also upon a considerable number of ivory figures which we shall consider later. This is how it is described by M. Naville: "The most characteristic feature in this statuette is the large sheath or horn, which, held by a narrow girdle, covers the genital organs. . . . It appears to be made of some resisting material, such as metal, wood, or thick leather. This sheath extends half-way up the stomach. It is composed of a cylinder, to which is joined another narrower one, at the

[1] For a fine example see DENIKER, *op. cit.* frontispiece.

[2] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, i. p. 55, note 3.

[3] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, p. 70, mentions among the Botocudos of Brazil, according to Prince de Wied, an "étui de feuilles qui cache les parties génitales." See YRJÖ HIRN, *The Origins of Art*, London, 1900, pp. 215, 216.

commencement of which are two ovoid protuberances, which are an attempt to imitate nature. . . ."[1]

M. Naville was enabled to identify this with complete certainty by a similar covering, which is, he says, "a tradition, a characteristic trait of that Libyan group which, during the nineteenth dynasty, allied itself with the people of the Mediterranean to march against Egypt." This sheath during the Egyptian period bore a special name; it is called *karnata*,  [2]

At the same time that the tail and the sheath were attached to the girdle, it was also possible to hang from it the skin of an animal, a mat, or a piece of stuff, and the loin-cloth was created. The animal's skin could with ease be placed as an ornament on the shoulders; it was easy to wrap oneself in a mat, a skin or a piece of woven stuff, and in this manner the mantle was evolved. All these elementary garments are found in the historic period, and also in the primitive age.

The skin of a panther, girded round the loins and covering the lower part of the body, was still in use among the negroes of the Upper Nile at the time of the nineteenth dynasty. Placed on the shoulders, it had become one of the insignia of certain priests and nobles as early as the beginning of the Ancient Empire.[3] One of the warriors of the painted tomb of the primitive age at Hierakonpolis is thus clothed in a panther's skin, while his adversary is holding a shield formed of a similar skin[4] (Fig. 26).

[1] NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. p. 69 *et seq.*

[2] See F. VON LUSHAN, *Zur anthropologischen Stellung der alten Aegypter*, in *Globus*, lxxix. 1901, pp. 197-200: "Aenliche Taschen nun giebt es heute noch im Westlichen Sudan, besonders bei den Moba im Nordlichen Togo, wo sie ganz allgemein von allen Männern getragen werden."

[3] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, i. pp. 53 and 55, and p. 53, note *a*.

[4] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxxvi.: "I take the figure of the man holding up the skin as showing that he *has* had it on his back, and has had to remove it to use as a shield. It is the origin of the shield from the loose clothing skin, and from that the stiff shield with wood frame was derived. But I do not think that it is here shown as a defensive shield alone."—Note by Professor Petrie.

The loin-cloth, either narrow or wide, is frequently represented on the primitive monuments on the palettes and maces of Hierakonpolis, in the tomb paintings, and again on the ivory figures.[1] I am not at all certain that the women wore wide loin-cloths, and it is with considerable doubt that I refer here to the painted tomb of Hierakonpolis. I cannot assume with any certainty that the two figures at the top of Plate lxxvi. *Hierakonpolis*, ii. are intended to represent women; and yet the similarity of their attitude with that of the female figures on the pottery appears to be noteworthy.

Finally, the long cloak, the use of which in historic times has been so ably dealt with by M. Maspero,[2] appears several times on the remains of the primitive age. There is, for instance,

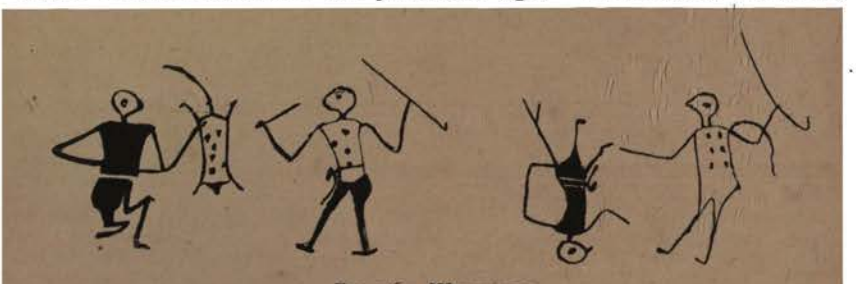


FIG. 26.—WARRIORS.
Clothed in a panther skin, or holding a shield formed of a similar skin.

the figure of a woman in the British Museum,[3] and several ivory statuettes from Hierakonpolis, which show the cloak, sometimes plain and sometimes decorated with geometric patterns.[4] Petrie has very justly compared the decorated mantle on one of these figures with the fragments of leather painted in zigzag lines found by him at Naqada, and they again may be compared with the clothing of the Libyans of the tomb of Seti I.[5] (Fig. 27). These

[1] For the loin-cloth or short skirt in Egypt during the Ancient Empire see ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 202-206, and SPIEGELBERG, *Varia*, xlviii. *Zu dem Galaschurz des alten Reiches*, in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxi. 1899, pp. 54, 55.

[2] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, i. pp. 55-57.

[3] BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 53.

[4] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. ix. and x.

[5] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxiv. 104 and p. 48. See also PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, ii. pl. iv. 3, 4, 5.

decorations probably represent embroideries, as shown in the ivory statuette of a king of the first dynasty discovered by Petrie at Abydos, of which reproductions are given farther on.[1] Finally we must mention a small figure of a woman tightly

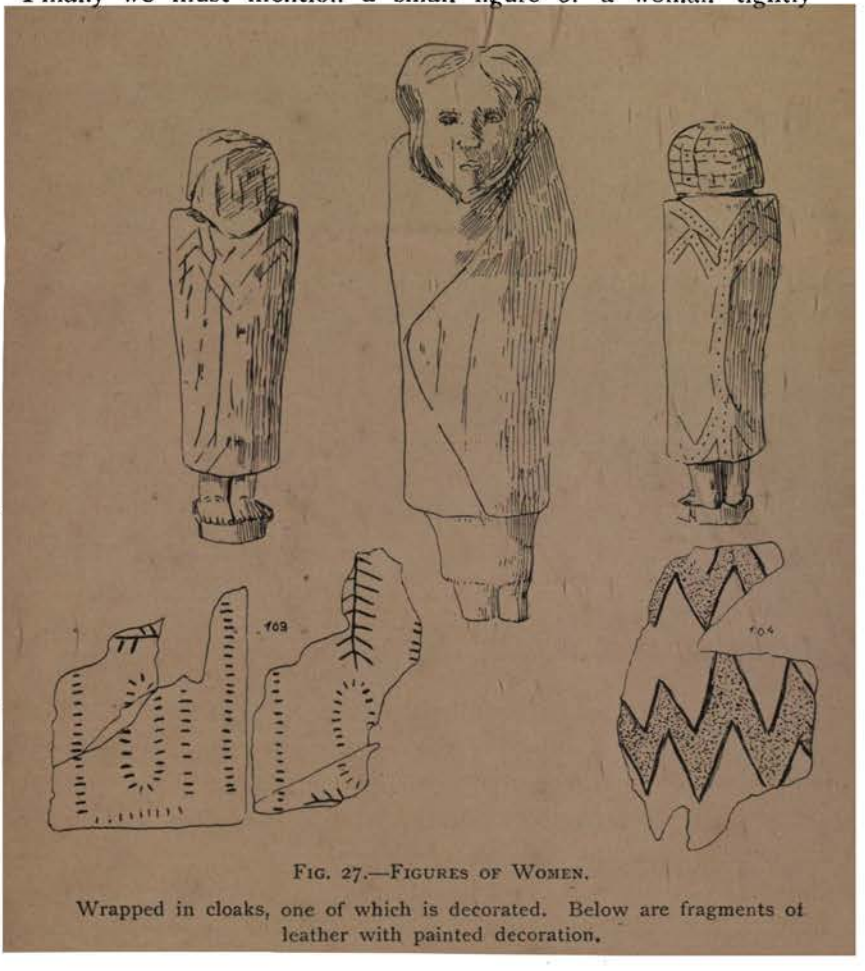


FIG. 27.—FIGURES OF WOMEN.

Wrapped in cloaks, one of which is decorated. Below are fragments of leather with painted decoration.

wrapped in a cloak, discovered by Petrie at Abydos, and datin from the commencement of the first dynasty.[2]

The long cloak was fastened by means of studs intended t

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. and xiii. p. 24.

[2] PETRIE, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, ii. pl. iii *a*, 8 an p. 21.

be slipped through loops, on the principle of our military frogs. Petrie discovered examples of these in glazed pottery in the *temenos* of the temple of Osiris at Abydos.[1]

We have now arrived at the close of our study of personal adornment as it existed in primitive Egypt—this earliest manifestation which is yet so rich in artistic feeling. The immediate conclusion to be drawn from these researches is that it is not possible—at any rate in this sequence of ideas—to prove that there were sudden and radical changes at the commencement of the Pharaonic period, and that there is no glaring discrepancy between the habits of the primitive people and those which we find under the Ancient Egyptian Empire. It now remains to be seen whether we can maintain this conclusion when our attention is directed to the examination of ornamental art.

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. i. and viii. 141-143, and p. 26. On the subject of comparing primitive clothing in Egypt with that of the Ancient Empire, I think it well to quote a remark of Petrie's. After describing the garments found in the tombs of the fifth dynasty at Deshasheh, he adds: "It is remarkable that not one dress was found of the form shown on the monuments, with shoulder-straps; but the actual form seems to have been developed out of that by extension of the shoulder-straps along the arms. Hence the monumental dress must have been only an artistic survival in the Old Kingdom."—PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, London, 1898, p. 31.

CHAPTER III.

ORNAMENTAL AND DECORATIVE ART.

THE problem of the earliest beginnings of ornamental and decorative art is one of the most difficult to deal with, and at the same time one of those which appear to have been most neglected by art critics.[1] In the last few years, however, ethnologists have contributed numerous indications which give us some hope of arriving at a solution. We will follow the paths thus marked out, and see what solid results can be gained.

"The characteristic feature of decorative art among primitive people," says Deniker, "is this: All artistic designs are inspired by real objects; there is no feeling for what is purely and voluntarily ornamental, nor, for still more forcible reasons, are there any geometrical figures, as was believed till recently. All figures which appear to be of this nature are simplified drawings of animals, objects, etc. The designs which occur most frequently are those borrowed from animals (zoomorphic designs), from the human figure (anthropomorphic), and occasionally from manufactured objects (skeuomorphic); those taken from plants (phytomorphic) are extremely rare. . . . Often the entire object is transformed into an ornament, and becomes wholly unsuited for the purpose for which it was destined. . . . It is interesting to notice that the more a nation loves decoration, the less it is able to draw a design, properly so called."[2]

This is the way in which objects are decorated; but why is

[1] Nevertheless, two important works on this subject must be quoted: SEMPER, *Der Stil in den technischen und tektonischen Künsten*, München, 1878-9, 2 vols.; and RIEGL, *Stilfragen, Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik*, Berlin, 1893.

[2] DENIKER, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, Paris, 1900, pp. 237-240.

it that they are thus ornamented? Those who have studied the problem tell us that objects—and we must also add the body—are ornamented from a variety of motives: from a view to art, to information, a desire for luxury or for power, and finally from religious or magical motives.[1]

These principles are established, but before proceeding to apply them in the case of the primitive Egyptians, in order to render our statement clear, it is necessary that we should consider some complementary details which bear upon these general principles, and give various examples which will enable us more easily to understand their bearing.

To begin with, let us see how a graphic representation of an animal can be transformed into a geometric design; this will enable us to discover the laws which govern the treatment of natural models.

One of the most interesting examples from this point of view is furnished by Holmes' important work on the ancient art of the province of Chiriqui, Colombia[2] (Fig. 28).

The principal theme is the alligator, which, passing from degradation to degradation, from simplification to simplification, ends by becoming transformed into a series of absolutely regular geometrical designs. Fig. 28 shows more clearly than any explanation can do the successive phases of this transformation, which is logically accounted for by two great principles which dominate the whole question. The first is the principle of simplification, by virtue of which primitive man, like the child, attempts to give to animals and objects which he represents a form which is fixed and easily recognizable, and which he simplifies more and more—this can only be owing to idleness—diverging, in consequence, more and more widely from the original model.[3]

[1] HADDON, *Evolution in Art as illustrated by the Life-histories of designs*, London, 1895, pp. 4, 5, illustration on p. 8; see also pp. 200-306.

[2] HOLMES, W. H., *Ancient art of the province of Chiriqui, Colombia*, in the *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 1884-5, Washington, 1888. My mention of the work is taken from Haddon's book mentioned in the preceding note.

[3] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, pp. 107 and 119.

The second principle, which unites itself closely with the preceding, is that of rhythmic order, which, as Grosse says, "dominates the art of the least civilized nations in the same manner that it does that of the most advanced." "We may truly say," continues the same author, "that rhythm everywhere

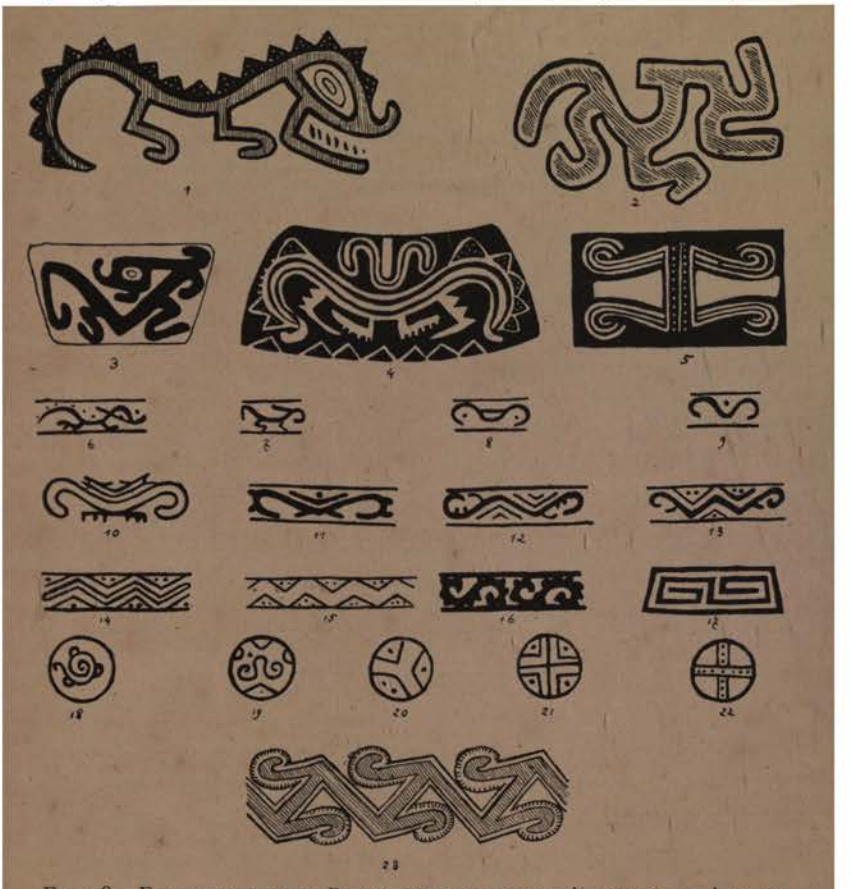


FIG. 28.—EVOLUTION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ALLIGATOR IN ANCIENT COLUMBIAN ART.

From Holmes.

affords the same pleasure to mankind. Rhythm consists in the regular repetition of any sort of unit—of a sound, of a movement, or, as in this case, of a figure."[1]

[1] GROSSE, *loc. cit.* p. 113.

And if we seek to review the origin of this taste for rhythm among primitive men, Grosse gives us a concise explanation of its genesis: "If we attribute an æsthetic importance to this rhythmic order, which is so prevalent in the decorative art of hunting tribes, we do not in any way pretend that its origin was of the same order. We are, on the contrary, convinced that the primitive artist did not invent the symmetrical principle, but that he found it, and that he found it in the work of the basket-maker, who is obliged to arrange his material in a regular manner. It is probable that it was from habit, and not for æsthetic pleasure, that textile designs were at first imitated; it was only by degrees that their æsthetic value was recognized, and that the artist began to combine and enrich these regular series. Obviously it would be difficult to say where mechanical imitation ends and where æsthetic work begins; in any case, it would be equally justifiable to assert that regular arrangement has produced the pleasure experienced in observing symmetry, as it would be to assert that it is that pleasure which has provoked regular arrangement."[1]

In other words, designs inspired by manufactured objects (skeuomorphs) have imposed their derivatives on designs derived from natural objects.

Thus, in the foregoing example, there is, to begin with, a copy of an alligator; this is next reduced to its most characteristic features, and from the time its fundamental features, its general lines, have been recognized; the representations of the animal are symmetrically combined, and adapted to the space to be decorated, whether square, oblong, or circular. The principle of rhythmic order here leads to the successive repetition of the same figures, in such a way as to form the decoration of the whole of an object, and under the influence of these two principal factors the most diversified geometrical designs are derived from one and the same representation of the alligator.

Another example borrowed from Polynesian art (Fig. 29)

[1] GROSSE, *loc. cit.* pp. 114, 115.

distinctly shows the degradation of the human figure, following the same principles.[1]

The stone idols of the Aegean Islands afford another proof. In addition to small figures, where the human representation is fairly accurate, there are also others "in the shape of a violin."[2]

For the successive transformations of a floral design it will be sufficient to quote the instance of the lotus, which has been so admirably worked out by Goodyear[3] as to render it unnecessary to dwell longer on this point.

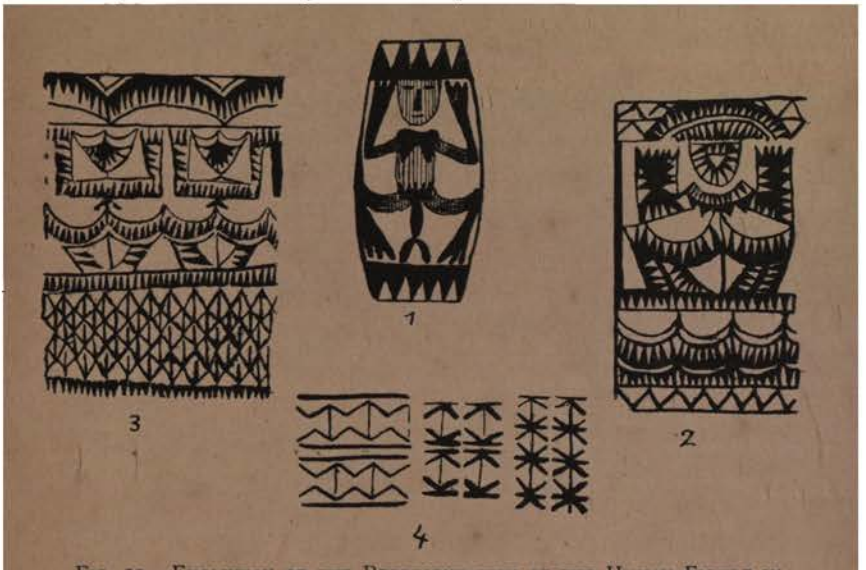


FIG. 29.—EVOLUTION OF THE REPRESENTATION OF THE HUMAN FIGURE IN POLYNESIAN ART.

From Haddon.

With regard to designs inspired by manufactured objects, the two most important types to be mentioned are:—designs derived from the thongs or cords which originally served to unite two objects; and designs copied from the work of the

[1] HADDON, *Evolution in Art*, fig. 124, 125, 127, 128, pp. 271, 273. See another example in COLLIER, *Primer of Art*, London, 1882, fig. 3, series of paddles, p. 7 (now in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, University Museum, Oxford).

[2] BLINKENBERG, CHR., *Antiquités prémycéniennes*, in the *Mémoires de la Société royale des antiquaires du Nord*, new series, 1896, pp. 13, 14.

[3] GOODYEAR, W. H., *The Grammar of the Lotus*, 1891.

basket-maker. Both of these occur with equal frequency, and a few words will suffice to explain how they came into being. When two objects—for instance, a blade and handle—are joined by strapping, the interlacing of the straps forms an actual geometrical decoration. If the latter is copied in another material in one single piece, the idea would naturally occur to the primitive mind to reproduce these interlacing lines, and this is what invariably occurs.

I will recall the well-known instance of architecture in wood communicating its forms to architecture in stone. Another very typical example has also been established as presented on the pottery of almost all countries. I refer to the decoration resembling a cord formed on vases most frequently at their widest part, which is nothing but the remaining trace of the cord of coarsely-twisted fibre which keeps the vases separate from each other while they are being dried in the sun previous to being baked.[1]

The industry of basket-making plays an important part in the daily life of primitive people, and almost always makes its appearance earlier than ceramics. It appears that pottery-making often commences with "a cast taken from an interior or exterior mould, usually a basket, or some other object of basket-work which burns immediately in the baking."[2]

It is easily understood that in this case the combinations of regular lines of the woven basket left their marks on the soft clay, and formed an actual geometrical decoration on the baked pottery, which continued to be reproduced after pottery was manufactured by another method.

At the commencement of this chapter I stated that an object is frequently transformed by decoration, and becomes unfit for the purpose for which it was originally destined. We shall have occasion later on to deal with curious examples of this. To make this point clear without delay I will, however, quote the very

[1] PETRIE, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, p. 92.

[2] DENIKER, *op. cit.* p. 184. SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik der ältesten Cultur-Epoche Aegyptens*, in the *Verhandlungen der b. Gesellsch. für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1897, pp. 377, 378.

interesting instance of the tortoise-shell ornaments from the Torres Straits, which, diverging from the copy of a simple fish-hook, by successive modifications and symmetrical development [1] acquire ornamental forms, which only recall the original model in the most distant manner [2] (Fig. 30).

We will now briefly examine some examples of the various motives which actuate primitive man in the ornamentation of objects.

The first motive for decorating an object is purely artistic, and requires no additional explanation.

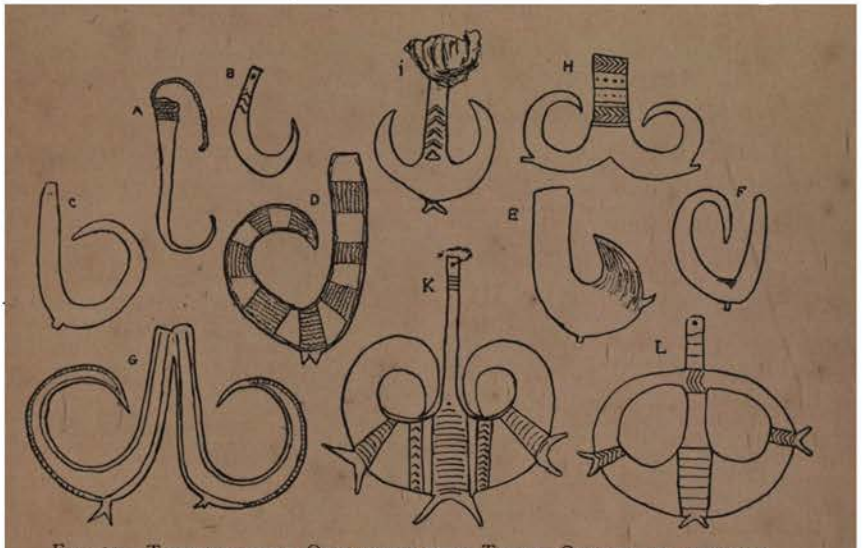


FIG. 30.—TORTOISE-SHELL ORNAMENTS FROM TORRES STRAITS, IN IMITATION OF THE FISH-HOOK (A).
From Haddon.

Decoration is also employed with a view to information; it may be that the maker places on an object a mark which constitutes an actual signature, or it may be that the proprietor himself gives it a mark of ownership—such, for instance, as a tribal sign. The most typical example is that of the savages, who mark their arrows with a distinct sign, in order to be able to

[redacted] for sy[redacted]al decoration see SCHWEINFURTH, *loc*

determine the rights of each man to the animals killed in the chase. This point is important, for it has played a considerable part in the history of writing during the most primitive stages of its development.

It was the desire for ostentation which gave rise to highly decorated objects, especially to weapons of state, which thus rapidly developed into tokens of power. It was the desire for luxury which produced those objects which are absolutely useless, but the possession of which ensured to their proprietor a substantial reputation among the tribe. In a parallel manner, votive objects developed where the attempt was made to augment their value by employing either a more precious material, or by applying more studied and complicated ornamentation.

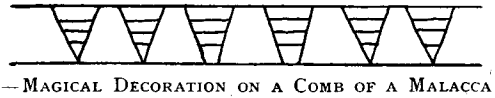


FIG. 31.—MAGICAL DECORATION ON A COMB OF A MALACCA TRIBE. From Haddon.

Finally, one of the most usual reasons for decorating objects is religion or magic, and the magical combs of a Malacca tribe furnish us with an excellent example. The women wear in their hair a variety of decorated combs, with the object of preserving the wearers from certain specified maladies. They possess about twenty or thirty of these combs for different maladies, and cause them to be placed in their graves as a safeguard for their possessor from those ailments in the next world. A different design corresponds to each malady, and the designs are purely geometrical[1] (Fig. 31). Other instances, equally well known, show us how important it is to be cautious in explaining the ornamentation of any object. It may have some meaning, but without explanation from the natives we cannot find the correct interpretation. Unfortunately, with objects of antiquity, the necessary explanations are almost entirely wanting.

These fundamental principles are established, and without losing sight of them, we can now enter upon the study of the ornamental or decorative art of the primitive Egyptians. To begin with, is

[1] HADDON, *Evolution in Art*, p. 236 *et seq.*, fig. 120, p. 240.

there not already artistic feeling in the act of the primitive man, who, not content with supplying himself with tools suited to the requirements they are intended to fulfil, attempts to give them forms as perfect and elegant as possible? We shall have the opportunity of pointing out how far the primitive Egyptians attained perfection in each class of objects we pass in review.

We will begin with flint knives. I believe I do not exaggerate when I say that in no other country in the world has the

FIG. 32.—FLINT KNIFE, WORKED AND RETOUCHED ON BOTH FACES. Brussels Museum; length, 25 cm.

working of flint been carried to such perfection. It is not easy to admire sufficiently the perfection of the working and the beauty of the forms of the large, finely finished knives discovered in the tombs. "The flakes have been struck off these objects with such precision that the ribs left by the work upon the edge and the back are symmetrically arranged, and correspond with each other. The meeting of the ribs forms a very regular ridge down the centre of the blade"[1] (Fig. 32).

[1] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, i. pp. 111, 112; ii. pp. 107-109. See PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxxvi., and passages indicated in the

The part of the knife which was held in the hand was probably covered with leather. Specimens exist which have gold and

FIG. 33.—GOLD LEAF WITH INCISED DESIGNS, SEWN ON TO ONE END OF A LARGE FLINT KNIFE TO FORM THE HANDLE.

ivory handles decorated with figures. The most remarkable of these handled knives is in the Cairo Museum.[1] The gold leaf

index under "Flint Knives," especially pp. 57-60; *Diospolis parva*, pl. iv. and pp. 23, 24, where the development of the shape of the knife during the prehistoric period is traced. See QUIBELL, *Flint dagger from Gebelein*, in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, ii. 1901, pp. 131, 132, etc.

[1] Provenance: DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. p. 112, "Environs d'Abydos, peut-être à Saghel-el-Baglieh ou à Abydos même"; ii. p. 266, "Qui provient de Guebel-el-Tarif." AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, 1895-6; *Compte rendu in extenso*, Paris, 1899, p. 267: "Les fouilles d'El-Amrah ont fourni également des silex en petit quantité. Lorsque j'eus retiré les ouvriers, l'un d'eux resta sur le lieu des fouilles pour fouiller illicitement: il trouva le couteau recouvert d'une feuille d'or qui contenait la représentation d'animaux divers."

which covers a part of the knife is not soldered, but sewn on by means of gold thread. On the point at one side two interlaced serpents are engraved, the spaces being filled up with rosettes; on the other side there are nine figures of animals—lions, gazelles, antelopes, and a fantastic animal[1] (Fig. 33). The design of interlaced serpents is especially interesting to meet with, as it is also seen on the Chaldean monuments.[2]

In the same museum at Cairo there is also a dagger with a solid gold handle fixed to the blade by means of three rivets. The handle is decorated with incised figures: on one side are three women, one of whom holds a fan; on the other side, there is a boat[3]

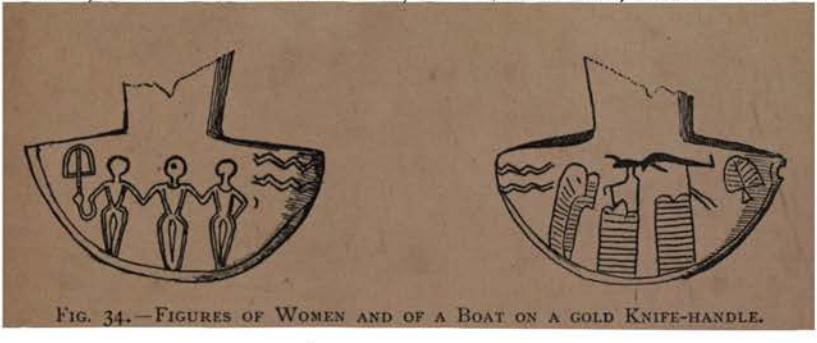


FIG. 34.—FIGURES OF WOMEN AND OF A BOAT ON A GOLD KNIFE-HANDLE.

(Fig. 34). Another dagger from the same place had an ivory handle, only fragments of which remain; and in the Pitt-Rivers Collection, Farnham, Dorset, there is a large flint knife, the ivory handle of which is decorated on both faces with a series of animals[4] (Fig. 35).

Finally, in the Petrie Collection, University College, London,

[1] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pp. 112-115, and fig. 136; ii. pl. v.

[2] Sculptured vase of Gudea. See HEUZEY, *Musée national du Louvre: Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes; Sculpture et gravure à la pointe*, Paris, 1902, pp. 280-285.

[3] QUIBELL, *Flint dagger from Gebelein*, *loc. cit.* p. 131.

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxxvii. and p. 51. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, ii. pp. 266, 267. The whole of the knife has been produced in a plate intended for a work on the Pitt-Rivers Collection, but which, I believe, has never been published. A copy of this plate is exhibited in the Pitt-Rivers Collection at the University Museum, Oxford; another copy is in the Edwards' Library, University College, London. Its provenance is indicated thus upon the plate: "Obtained by the Rev. Greville Chester in 1891 from Sheyk Hamâdeh, near Souhag."

there are two interesting pieces. One is a handle, possibly of a knife, bearing on one of its faces a design which occurs frequently—a feline animal chasing a gazelle; on the other there is a quaint representation, in which Professor Petrie sees the hippopotamus goddess *Taurt* seizing a crocodile, perhaps to

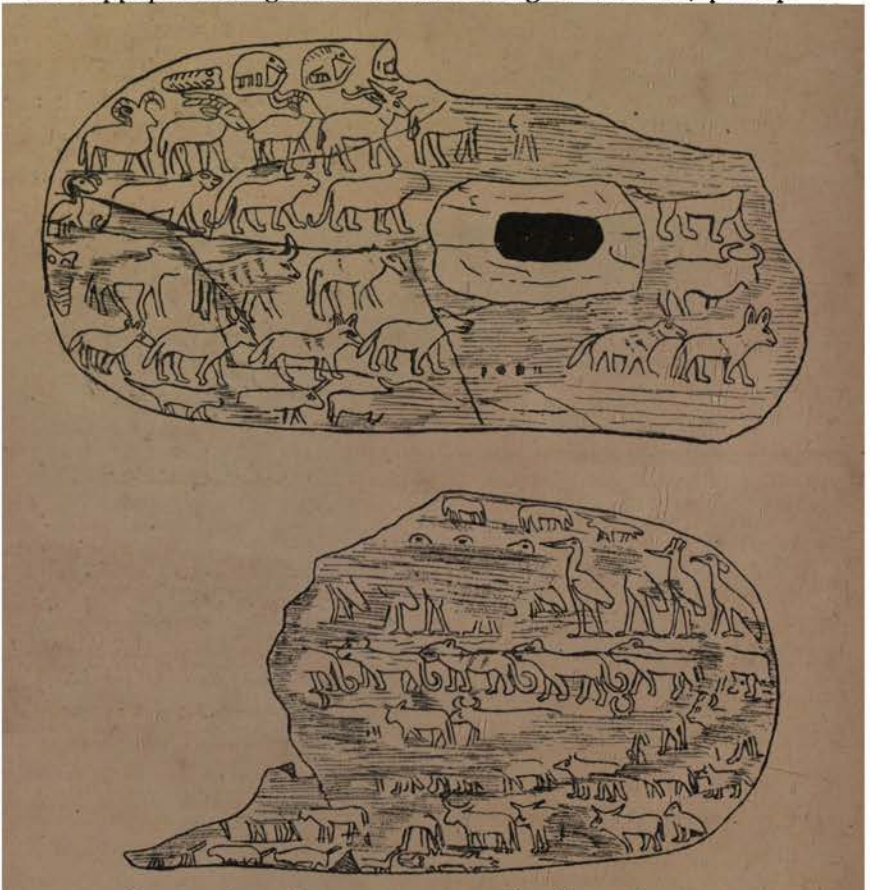


FIG. 35.—IVORY KNIFE-HANDLE IN THE PITT-RIVERS COLLECTION.

devour it. With her right hand she grasps a foot of the crocodile, and with her left she holds its tail (Fig. 36). Upon a steatite prism discovered by Greville Chester at Karnak, and presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, there is a man standing and holding a crocodile by the tail. This representation may perhaps be connected with the figures of the

intaglios of the Greek islands, on which personages are figured holding animals by the tail.[1]

The other object is a small flint knife with an ivory handle. Upon one of the sides of the handle are two interlaced serpents and rosettes, as on the great knife at Cairo; on the reverse there is a lion, a leopard, and another animal, considered by Petrie to be a hedgehog[2] (Fig. 37). A fragment of a similar specimen in the Berlin Museum (No. 15,137) proves, however, that this animal is a species of antelope (Fig. 38). In the case of the knife, the way in which the handle is fastened to the blade entirely confirms a remark made by Mr. Quibell with regard to the ivory-handled knife at Cairo. He states that the part of the knife which is fixed to the handle is so minute that certainly the knife could only have been employed ceremonially.[3]

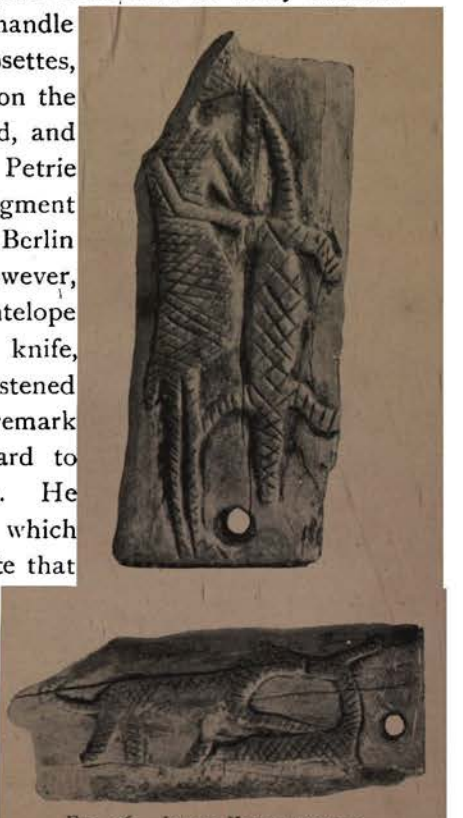


FIG. 36.—IVORY KNIFE-HANDLE.
Petrie Collection, University College, London.

The same representations of animals are found on decorated spoons, of which several interesting specimens have been discovered[4] (Fig. 39). Mr. Quibell has published the handle of some instrument, now disappeared, which has two small animal

[1] EVANS, ARTHUR J., *Further discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script with Libyan and proto-Egyptian Comparisons*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii. 1898, pp. 362-372.

[2] PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Carvings*, in *Man*, ii. 1902, No. 113, p. 161, and pl. I. 3, iii., and 4, iv.

[3] QUIBELL, *Flint dagger from Gebelein*, *loc. cit.* p. 132. See LEFEBURE, E., *Rites égyptiens: Construction et protection des édifices* (*Publications de l'École des lettres, d'Alger*), Paris 1890, p. 37.

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxi. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, p. 47; *Diospolis*, p. 22. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, ii. p. 131. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xii. 9.

figures[1] (Fig. 39, No. 7); and there is also the handle of an instrument—a spoon or a knife—in form of a lion, which probably came from Hierakonpolis, and is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Combs present a much greater variety of types, and enable us to follow more closely the evolution of the forms. Both single and double combs were used; the most frequent type was that of a small human or animal figure, furnished with teeth at the lower part, as a means of fixing it in the hair. There are several

FIG. 37.—SMALL FLINT KNIFE WITH IVORY HANDLE.
Petrie Collection, University College, London.

specimens which have for ornament the human face, drawn in a summary manner, and gradually simplified until merely the outline of the face is represented[2] (Fig. 40).

The representations of animals offer still more variety. It is remarkable how the antelope, which is very clearly characterized, is by degrees degraded to the point of being unrecognizable, and of being confused, as in the last specimen of Fig. 41, with

[1] QUIBELL, *Flint dagger from Gebelein, loc. cit.* pl. i. 7.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lix. 5. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. p. 147, fig. 342, and ii. p. 62, fig. 136.

the type derived from the figure of a bird.[1] Petrie believes that in two instances he can identify representations of the giraffe. I believe that it is more probably a simplification of the type of antelope[2] (Fig. 41).

Another type is the head of a bull, full face, also found among the amulets, as we shall see later.[3] The figure that occurs most frequently is a bird, which is also used for decorated pins. Here we pass from forms copied with considerable fidelity, to

FIG. 38.—FRAGMENT OF AN IVORY KNIFE-HANDLE WITH A FIGURE OF AN ANTELOPE.

Berlin Museum.

simplified forms, which only remotely suggest the original. The principle of symmetry again intervenes to augment the confusion, by placing the same conventional figure of a bird[4] at each end

[1] PETRIE, *ib.* lxiii. 59, 63, 66; lxiv. 87 and p. 87. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. fig. 343, p. 148.

[2] PETRIE, *ib.* pl. xliii. 60-62, and p. 47.

[3] PETRIE, *ib.* pl. xliii. 57, 57*a*.

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxiii. and lxiv.; *Diospolis*, ix. x. and p. 20. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. p. 148. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 54.

of the axis of the comb (Fig. 42). Other specimens, again, show the combination of the two designs of quadrupeds and birds[1] (Fig. 43).

Owing to the generous kindness of Herr von Bissing, I am able to reproduce here a magnificent ivory comb decorated with figures of animals. This comb belongs to M. Theodor M. Davis, and Von Bissing will shortly publish a detailed account of it,

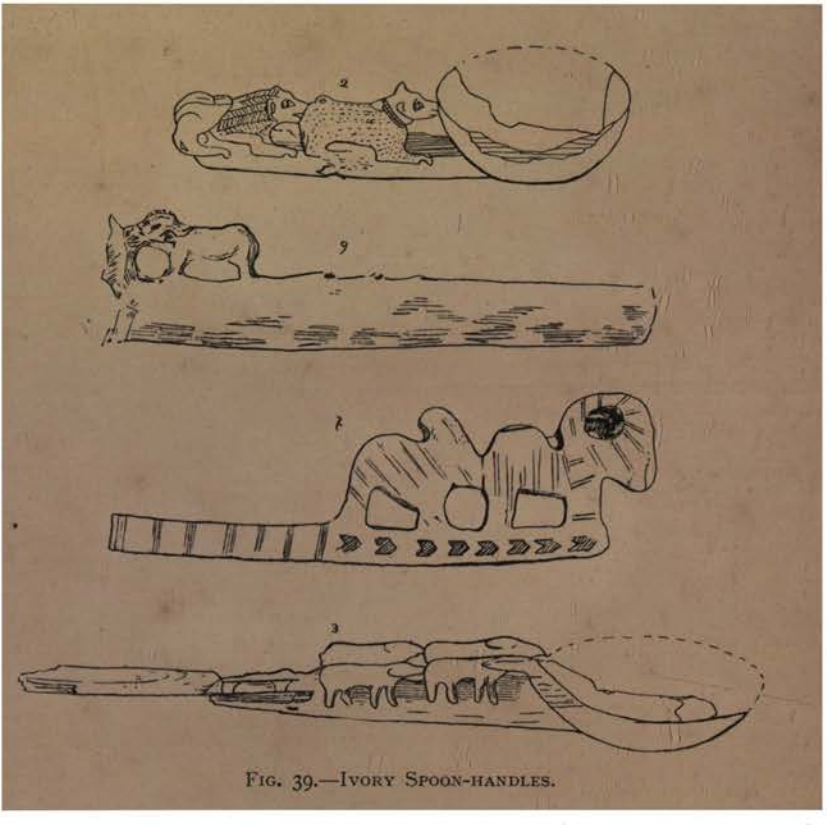


FIG. 39.—IVORY SPOON-HANDLES.

which will enable us to draw interesting conclusions from this very fine piece of work (Figs. 44 and 45).

Before leaving this subject, I must once more remind the reader of the magical *rôle* which these combs were apparently intended to fulfil, and on which I have already dwelt at some length.

[1] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. p. 148, fig. 243.

The hair-pins, while they show the same zoomorphic designs as the combs—birds and bulls' heads—have also regular incised lines on the pin itself, which form the first example we meet with of an ornamentation derived from technique. They evidently represent the binding wrapped round the pin, which attached it firmly to the carved ornament—bull's head, bird, etc.—at the top[1] (Fig. 46).

FIG 40.—IVORY COMBS WITH HUMAN FIGURES.
Petrie Collection.

FIG. 41.—IVORY COMBS WITH FIGURES OF ANTELOPES AND GIRAFFES.

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxiii. and lxiv.; *Diospolis*, pl. x. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pp. 148, 149. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah*, pl. xii. 2, 3.

When we turn to the consideration of pendants, we find exactly the same designs reappearing on a whole series of objects in stone, ivory, and bone. Their purpose is not easy to determine; possibly they were mere ornaments. They have a groove and hole at the lower end, and if suspended by them,

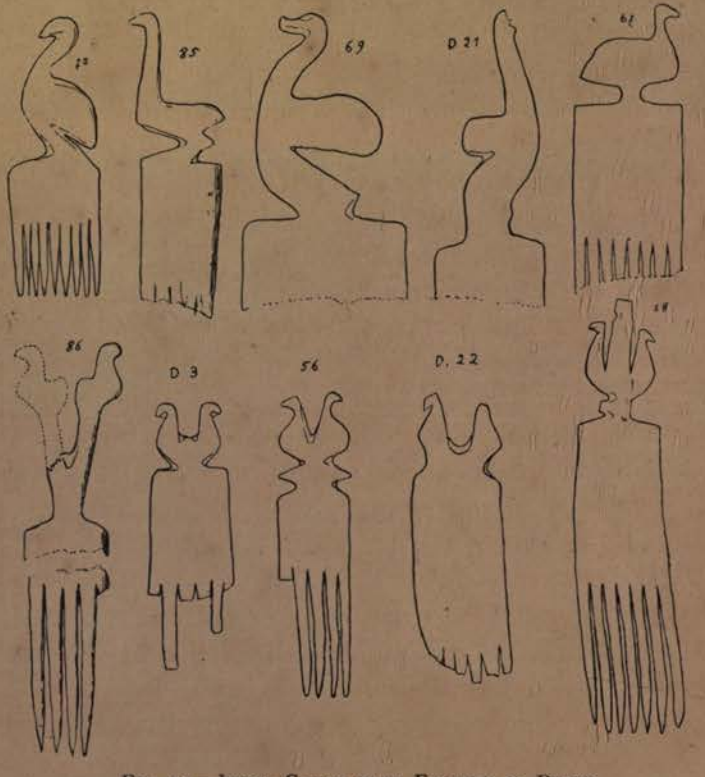


FIG. 42.—IVORY COMBS WITH FIGURES OF BIRDS.

the figures, of course, hang upside down. This may be a device to enable the wearer to see them as they hang. These objects are carved with representations of human figures (Fig. 47), with birds more or less conventionalized, with bulls' heads,[1] and also

[1] Men: PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lix. lx.—Birds: *ib.* lix. lxii. and lxiv.; *Diospolis* pl. x. xi. xii. DE MORGAN, *Origines*, ii. pp. 64 and 143. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. x. 7.—Bulls: PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxii. 37 and 51; *Diospolis*, vii. 1.

with a singular ornament which is perhaps derived from a type of bird (Fig. 48).

Another class of decorated objects is formed by the pendants of necklaces, which have already been mentioned in the chapter on personal adornment. Those of most frequent occurrence are merely engraved on the two sides with various short strokes at regular intervals. The decoration of others is in imitation of a cord, which, starting from the base, coils round the pendant to the top. Others, again, have intercrossing lines, forming very simple patterns. Occasionally the two systems of decoration are combined (Fig. 49, and also Fig. 22). When we recall the observations we have already made, there is nothing to prevent our considering these decorative lines on the pendants as having a magical purpose.[1]

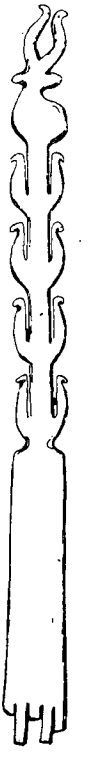


FIG. 43.—IVORY COMB With the figure of an antelope and ornaments derived from bird forms.

In the Berlin Museum there is a small shell (?) plaque of fine workmanship (No. 13,797), which perhaps should be considered as a pendant for a necklace. It is decorated with figures of animals, which should be compared with those we shall presently study on the slate palettes (Figs. 50 and 51).[2]

Beyond all question it is the slate palettes which provide us with the finest examples of evolution of form that it is possible to imagine. Petrie has worked out the chronological succession of these palettes, and we need not therefore dwell long on the subject.[3] The earliest of these are rhomboids, and this form was probably suggested, according to Petrie, by some natural cross-cleavages of the slate rock. Shortly afterwards natural forms appear, which we shall now examine,

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxi. lxii. and lxiv.; *Diospolis*, pl. x. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pp. 62, 63, fig. 137-147. The incised lines are frequently filled up with a blackish plaster.

[2] *Königliche Museen zu Berlin—Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse*, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1899, p. 38.

[3] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. iii.

and from which new forms were eventually derived which were solely geometrical.

I know only one palette which represents the human form. It belongs to the Petrie Collection, University College, London (Fig. 52). Another specimen in the same collection is a palette surmounted by the figure of an antelope (?), the head of which has disappeared (Fig. 53). With other specimens, on the contrary, it is the entire palette which represents *grosso modo* the lines of

FIG. 44.—IVORY COMB, RECTO.
Davis Collection.

FIG. 45.—IVORY COMB, VERSO.
Davis Collection.

the animal. Among the palettes representing antelopes we must notice one where Petrie recognizes the ibex or the mouflon[1] (Fig. 54). Other specimens are carved in imitation of the elephant, hippopotamus[2] (Fig. 55), and lion[3] (Fig. 55A). The palettes in

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlvii. 1-4; *Diospolis*, pl. xi. 1. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 59, 20,910 and 35,049. QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxiv. 17.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlvii. 5-8; *Diospolis*, pl. xi. 4, 5. Berlin, No. 11,341.

[3] MacGregor Collection.

form of a tortoise are very instructive; we see there that, after having entirely mistaken the character of the feet, they did not scruple to let them disappear entirely, or even to transform them into heads of antelopes[1] (Fig. 56).

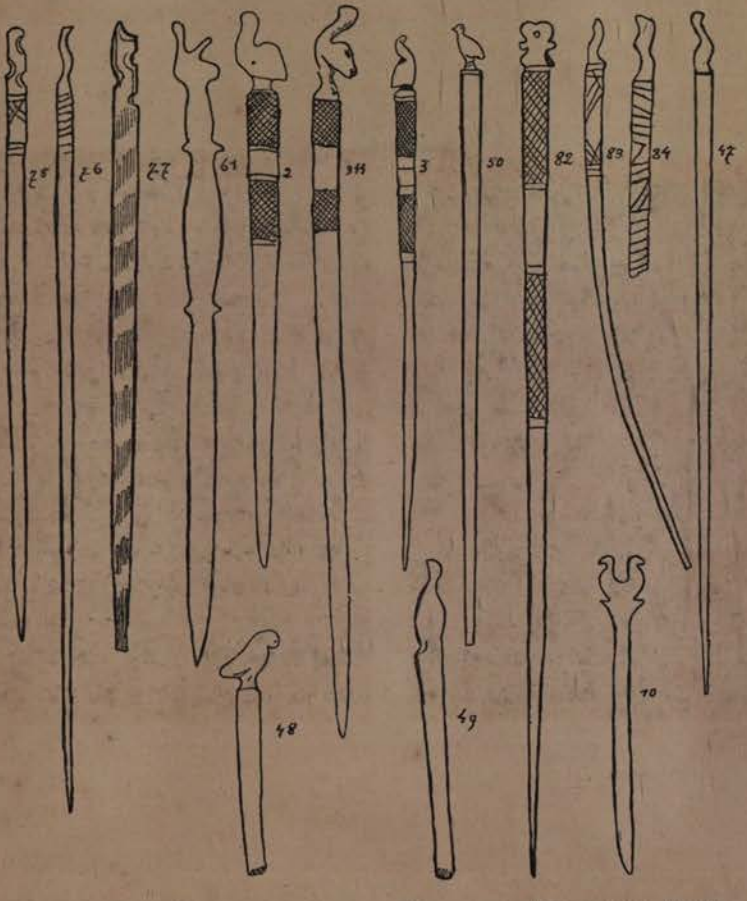


FIG. 46.—IVORY PINS DECORATED WITH FIGURES OF BIRDS AND A BULL'S HEAD.

Fish palettes, which are often shaped with great care, end by losing all characteristic form (Fig. 57). A remarkable example is

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlvii. 9-12, 14, and 18; *Diospolis*, pl. xi. 6, 9, 10. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 60, 23,061. Berlin, No. 10,595.

one in the centre of our Fig. 57, where the tail of the fish has itself been transformed into a still smaller fish.[1]

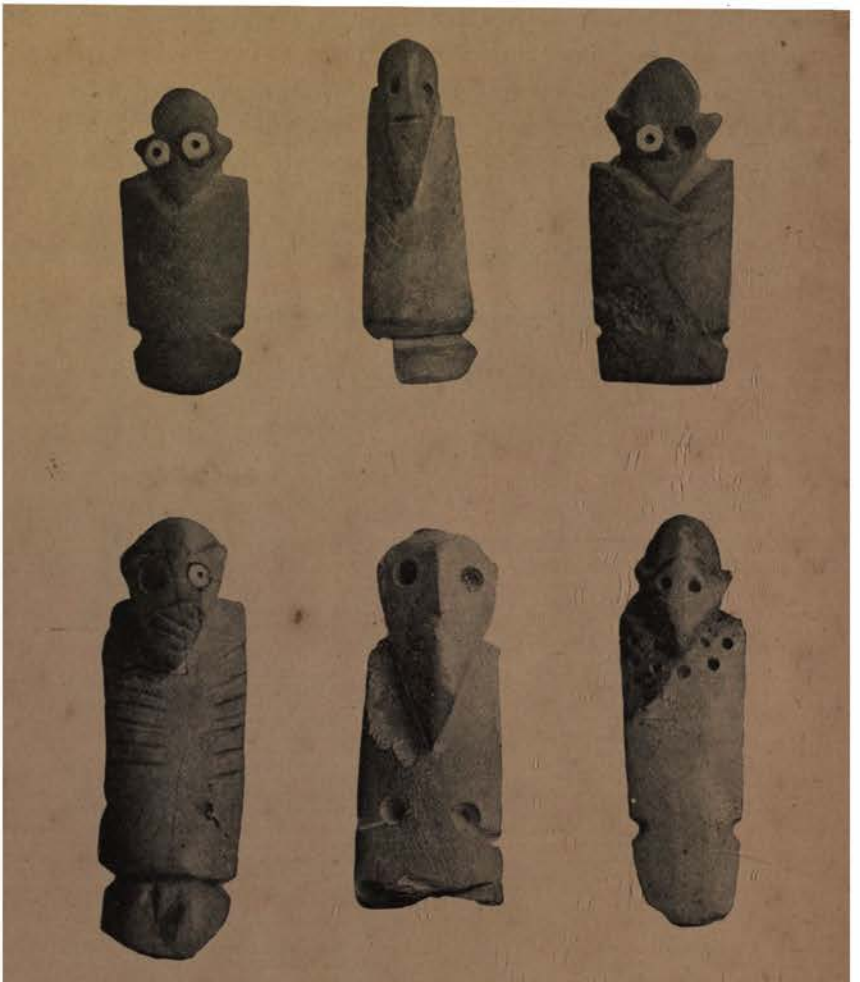


FIG. 47.—SLATE AND IVORY PENDANTS.
University College, London.

The most curious case is that of the bird. At first easily recognizable[2] (Fig. 58), it promptly becomes modified. It is

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlviii. 51, 52, 60; *Diospolis*, pl. xi. 15-18, 27, 29.

[2] NEWBERRY, *Extracts from my Notebooks*, v. No. 36, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xxiv. 1902, p. 251 and pl. ii.

carved in duplicate, in order to give a symmetrical form to the palette; the plain surface on which the colour is rubbed is lengthened out of all proportion until, after a long succession of changes, the head of the bird, the only part remaining, finally becomes absorbed, and the palette presents a form where it would be impossible to recognize the original type, had not the intermediate specimens been preserved[1] (Fig. 59).

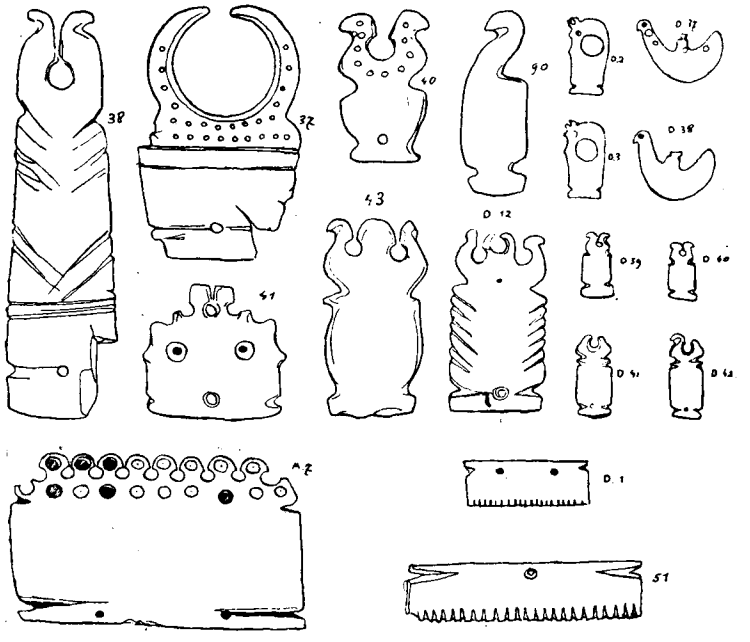


FIG. 48.—SLATE AND IVORY PENDANTS DECORATED WITH DERIVED DESIGNS.

I wish to draw special attention to a palette in form of a bird belonging to the Petrie Collection, University College, London, which closely resembles the figures of birds carved in the round that we shall have occasion to study later on (Fig. 60). Other forms might be quoted which do not appear to belong to any of the above types.

So much for the shapes of the palettes. An attempt was

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlvii. 21, 23, 24, 29, 30, 32; pl. xlix. 64, 69, 72, 81, 82, 86, 89, 91, 92. *Diospolis*, pl. xii. 35, 38.

made to render them still more like their models by the aid of incised lines, especially on those in form of a fish, where the shape was less characteristic than those representing antelopes or birds.[1] In connection with these complementary lines there are palettes of geometrical forms which also have figures incised on them. On one of these the figure of an elephant has been found[2]; others have representations of the crocodile,[3] and also

FIG. 49.—STONE AND IVORY PENDANTS WITH INCISED LINE DECORATION, IN SOME CASES FILLED UP WITH A BLACKISH PASTE.

a figure of an indeterminate animal[4] (Fig. 61). A palette discovered at Diospolis (tomb B 102) also bears in low relief a figure difficult to identify[5] (Fig. 61).

[1] In addition to the palettes mentioned in the preceding notes, numerous specimens will be found in PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlvii.-l. and p. 43; *Diospolis*, pl. xi. xii. and p. 20. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. vii. viii. and x.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. and xii. 43.

[3] DE MORGAN, *Origines*, ii. p. 144, and Berlin Museum, No. 12,877.

[4] DE MORGAN, *ib.*

[5] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. B 102.

A very fine specimen belonging to the Petrie Collection,

FIG. 50.—PLAQUE IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM (RECTO).
Shell (?).

University College, London, is engraved on both faces with

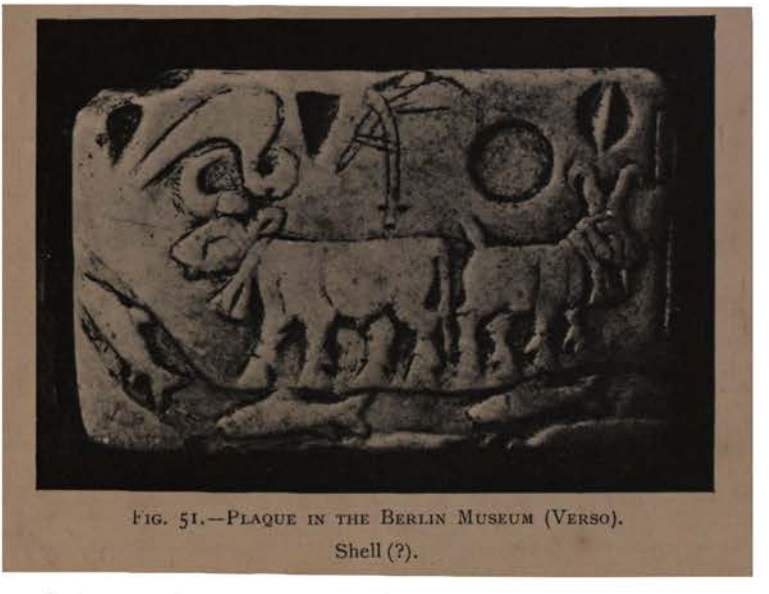


FIG. 51.—PLAQUE IN THE BERLIN MUSEUM (VERSO).
Shell (?).

ibex facing each other; ivory beads are inserted in the eye cavities (Fig. 62). Two other specimens, one discovered at

Hû (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and the other of unknown provenance (University College, London) are inscribed with very

FIG. 52.—PALETTE WITH A HUMAN FIGURE AT THE TOP.

FIG. 53.—PALETTE WITH A FIGURE OF AN ANTELOPE, THE HEAD MISSING.

summary designs of animals[1] (Fig. 62). Finally, the most interesting discovery is a somewhat recent one by Mr. MacIver,

[1] The first is the specimen published without description by PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. xx. 20.

who found a palette with two signs resembling hieroglyphs carved in relief on the face. Before stopping to dwell on this important point we must remark that a considerable number of palettes are pierced with a hole for suspension, which proves that they could be hung or carried on the body ready to be employed for grinding colour; while the smaller ones indicate that in course of time these palettes were occasionally converted

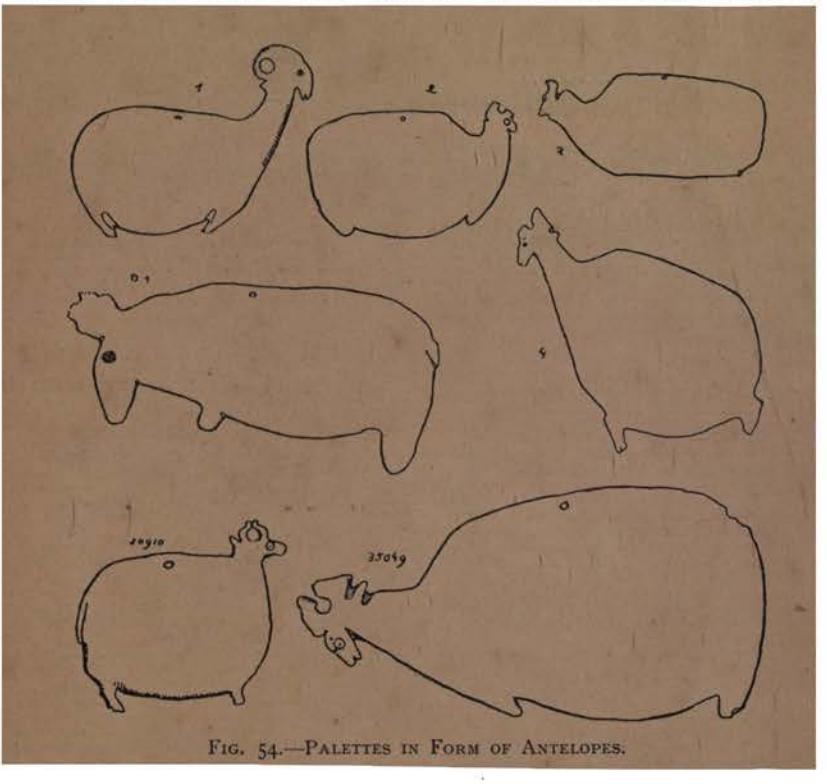


FIG. 54.—PALETTES IN FORM OF ANTELOPES.

into amulets. The accuracy of this instance of the transformation of the ordinary object into an amulet is attested by the fact that in the MacGregor Collection at Tamworth, there are some very minute palettes, the dimensions of which absolutely preclude the possibility of employing them for grinding paint. One of these is the shape of Palette 69, of our Fig. 59, and measures 44 millimetres in height; the others, of rhomboidal form, measure respectively 80, 58, 56, and 39 millimetres.

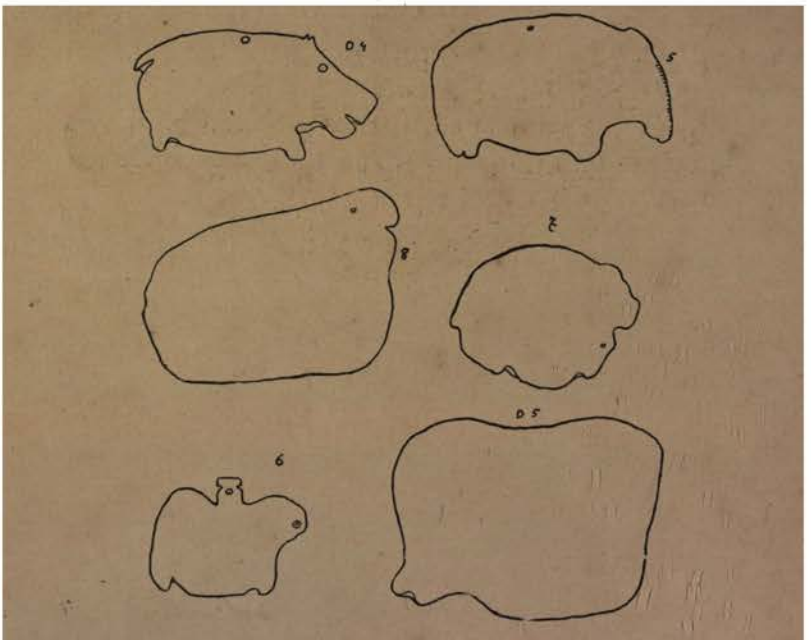


FIG. 55.—PALETTES IN FORM OF ELEPHANTS AND HIPPOPOTAMI.

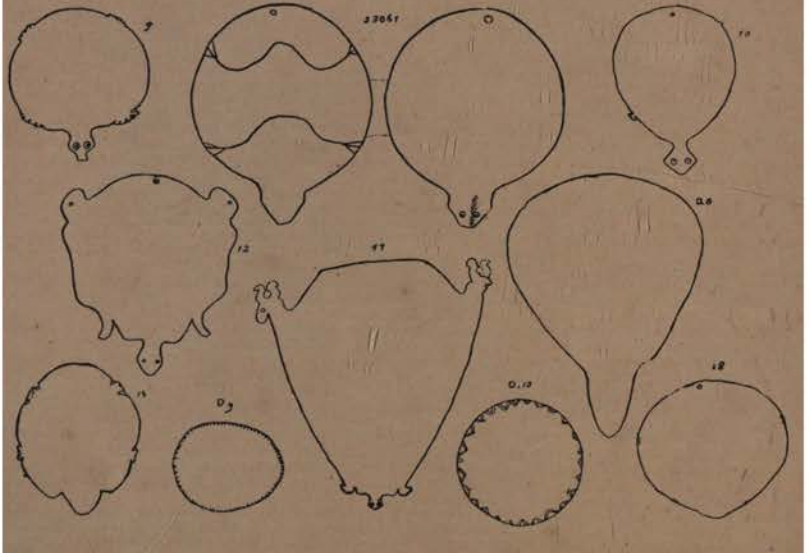


FIG. 56.—PALETTES IN FORM OF TORTOISES.

FIG. 55A.—PALETTE IN FORM OF A LION.
MacGregor Collection.

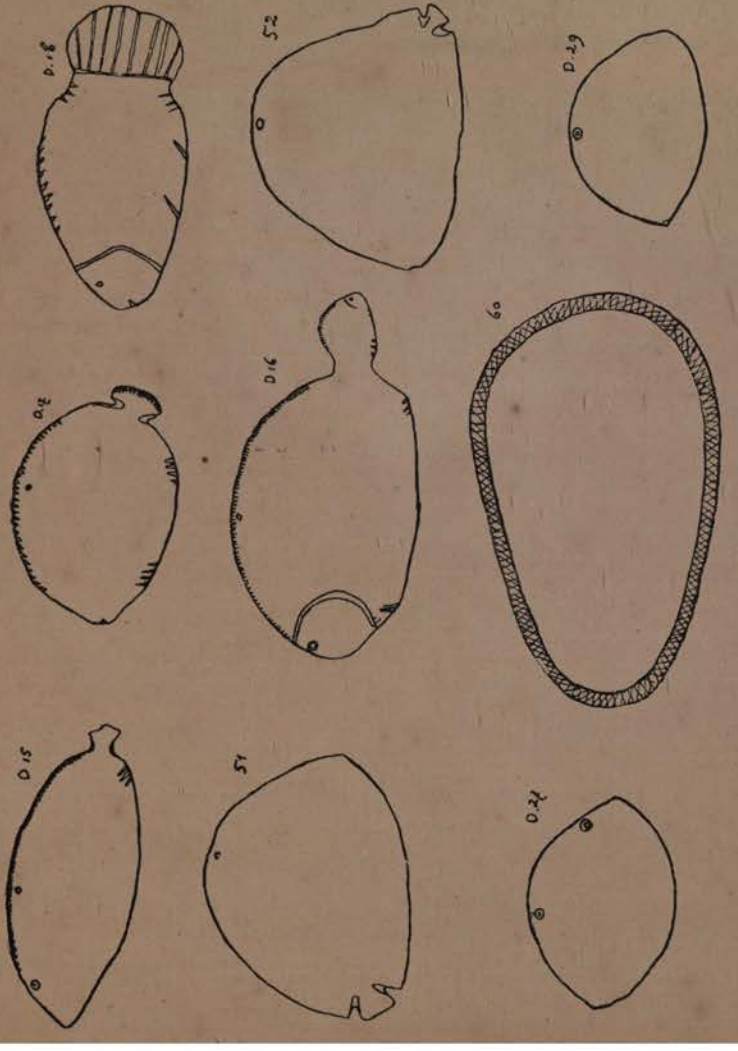


FIG. 57.—PALETTES IN FORM OF FISH.

We must now turn our attention to the palette found by Mr. Randall MacIver at El Amrah (Fig. 63). What are the signs carved on it, and what is their meaning?

In an article published at the time of the discovery of this palette Mr. MacIver wrote[1]: "It is by far the earliest example yet found of the use of hieroglyphs. Hieroglyphic writing has been known to exist in a well-developed form as early as the first dynasty, but this slate belongs to a period considerably before Menes, the first king of the first dynasty."

Writing again with modified views on this subject in his

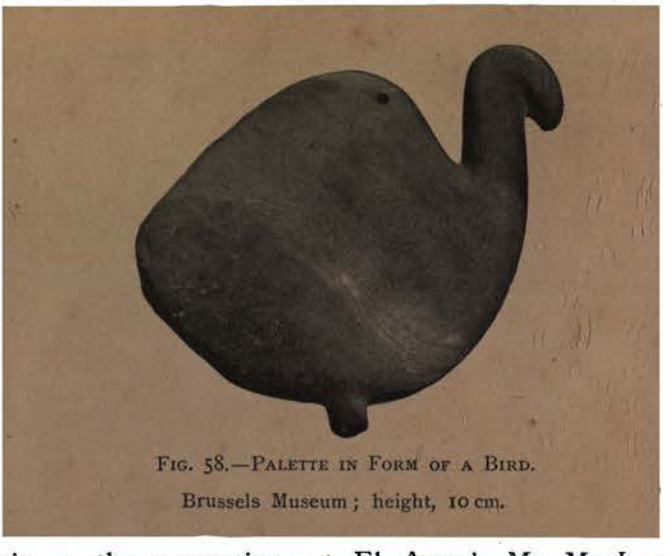


FIG. 58.—PALETTE IN FORM OF A BIRD.
Brussels Museum; height, 10 cm.

memoir on the excavations at El Amrah, Mr. MacIver points out, with Petrie and Griffith, the analogy of the sign on the palette with one of the standards of ships (we shall speak of these later), and with the signs engraved on the archaic statues of the god Min discovered by Petrie at Koptos, and he carries his hypothesis no farther than the statement that we have here a sign similar to the emblem of this god Min.[2]

Reduced to these proportions, the discovery became no less

[1] MACIVER, D. R., *A Prehistoric Cemetery at El Amrah in Egypt: Preliminary Report of Excavations*, in *Man*, i. No. 40, April, 1901.

[2] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pp. 37, 38.

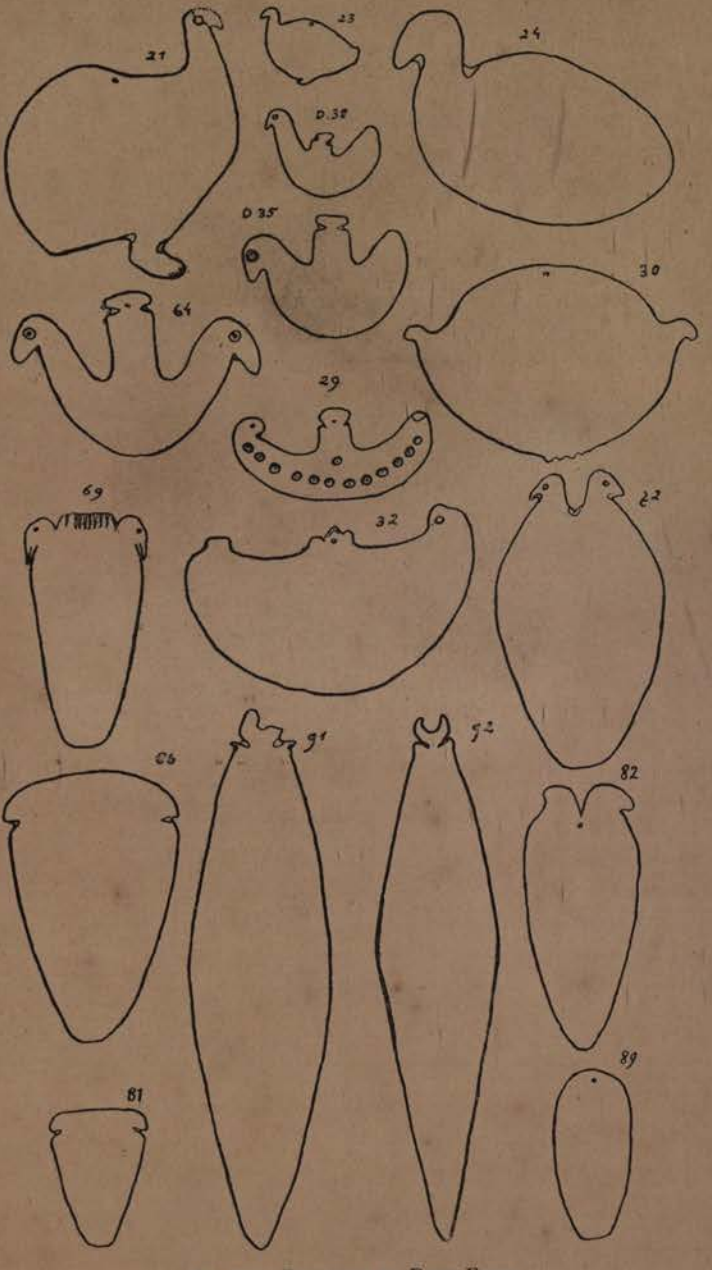


FIG. 59.—PALETTES OF BIRD FORM.

important, because, as the author remarks, it was the first example of palettes carved in relief. The MacGregor Collection furnishes us with another example of this (Catalogue 1,758H). At the top of this palette two birds are carved in relief; they face each other, and their bodies follow the outline of the palette. The interest of this piece is very great, as it shows as clearly as possible the transition between the prehistoric palettes and the proto-dynastic palettes of which we have such remarkable specimens (Fig. 64).

Our first acquaintance with these was owing to the excavations of Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis, which led to the discovery

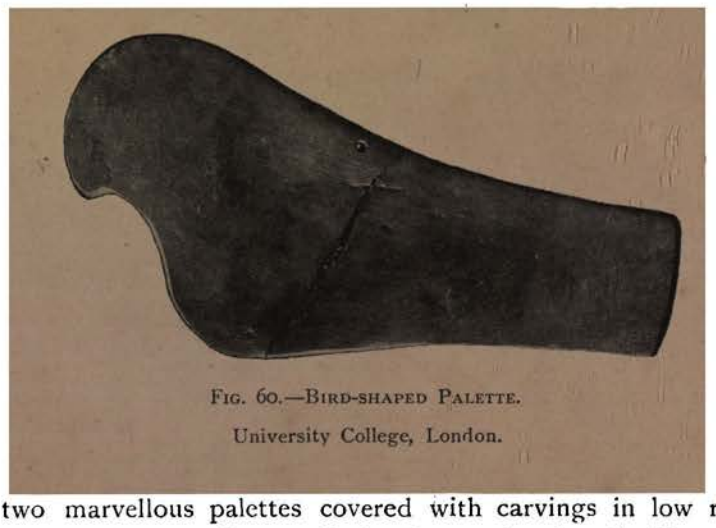


FIG. 60.—BIRD-SHAPED PALETTE.
University College, London.

of two marvellous palettes covered with carvings in low relief. These constitute evidence of the first order for the history of the making of Egypt. They have the great merit of having definitely fixed the period to which should be allocated various fragments of objects of the same kind preserved in different museums. Here the simple palettes for grinding malachite, which are found in the greater number of prehistoric tombs at the period of the earliest dynasties, have developed into objects of luxury, votive offerings deposited in the temples and perhaps intended to commemorate important religious festivals. This is another instance of the evolution of decorated objects of which we spoke at the commencement of this chapter. We

shall return later to the scenes depicted on these great palettes, on the assumption that they relate more to sculpture than to decorative art.

The same may be said of the votive maces from the same temple of Hierakonpolis, which furnish another instance of common

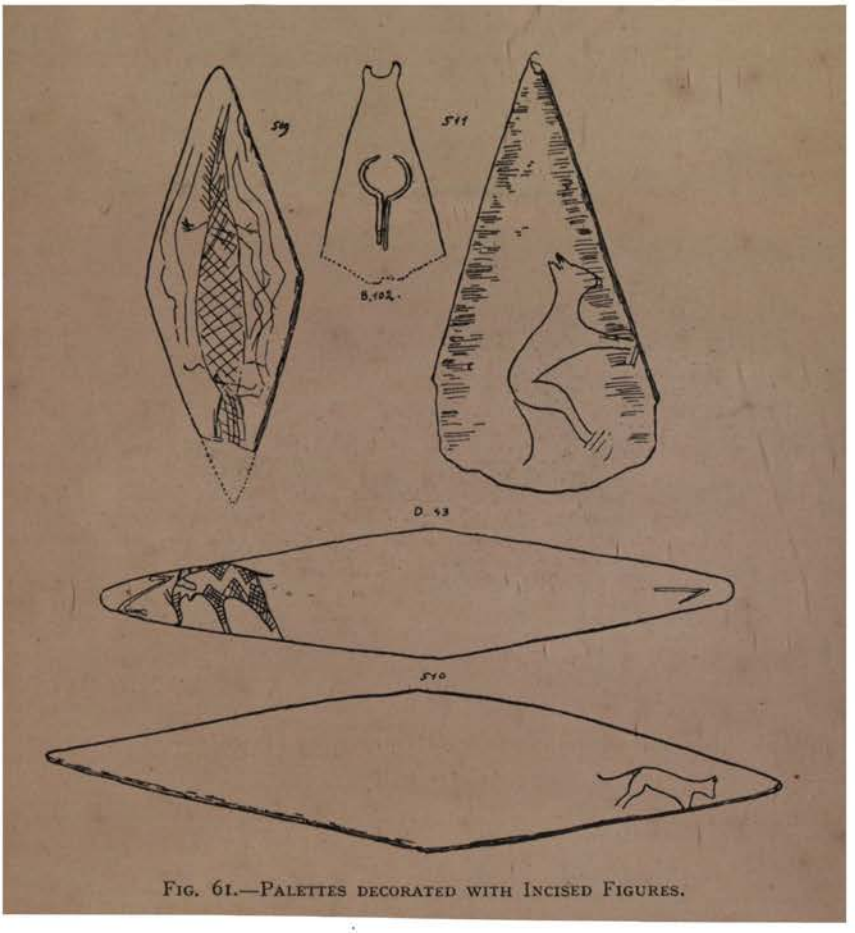


FIG. 61.—PALETTES DECORATED WITH INCISED FIGURES.

objects becoming actual objects of luxury, of huge proportions, and in consequence rendered entirely unfit for their original purpose.

Speaking generally, stone mace-heads may be divided into two principal classes. The first, and the most ancient, are in the form of a disc. These are most frequently found in syenite

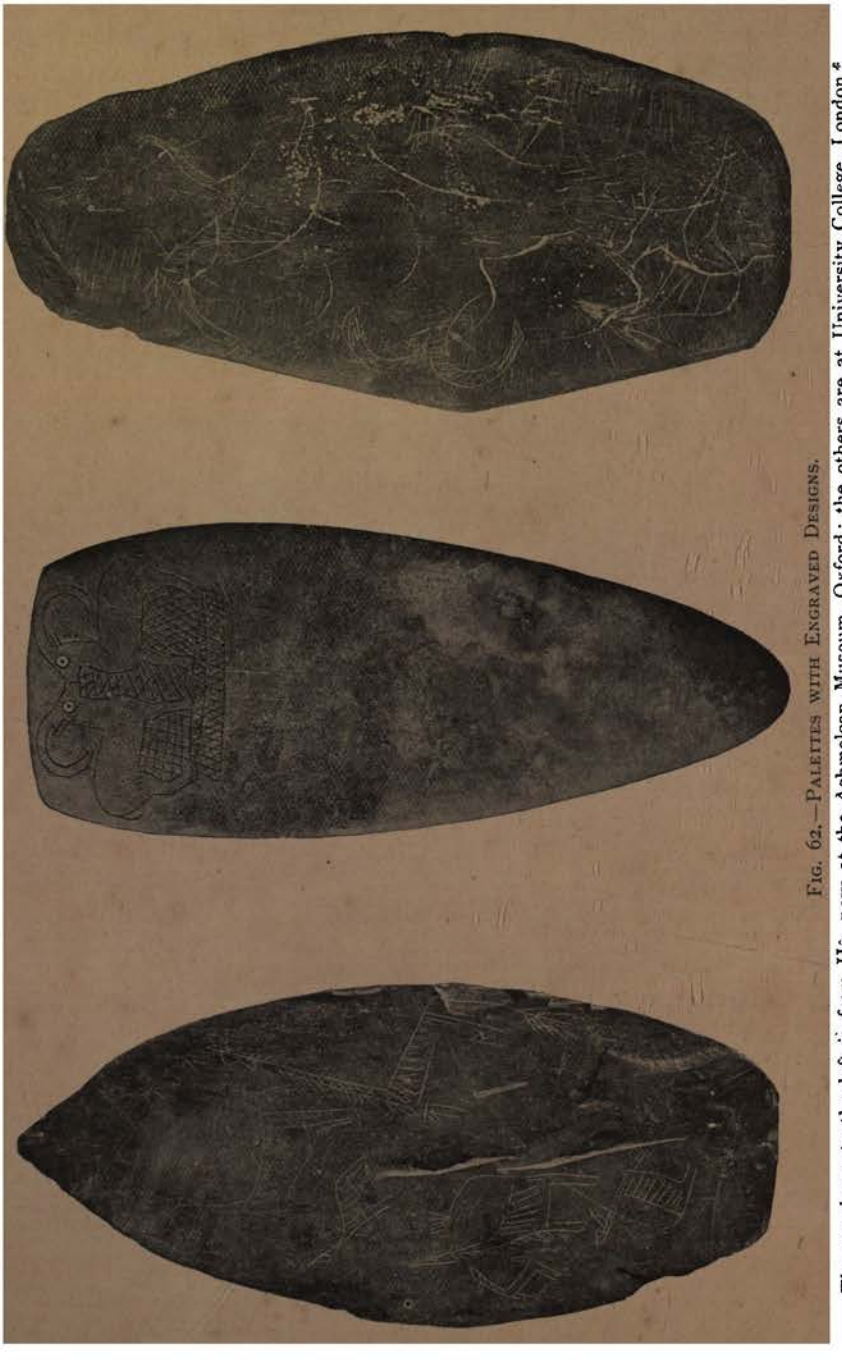


FIG. 62.—PALETTES WITH ENGRAVED DESIGNS.

The specimen to the left is from Hû now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the others are at University College, London.

and porphyry, and more rarely in alabaster.[1] The others are pear-shaped, and are found in basalt, hæmatite, breccia, alabaster, and above all in a compact white limestone. This latter form appears at least as early as the fourth dynasty, and throughout all the history of Egypt as an emblem in the hands of the king. A hieroglyphic sign, , which conveys the idea of whiteness and distinction, has also perpetuated the figure.[2]

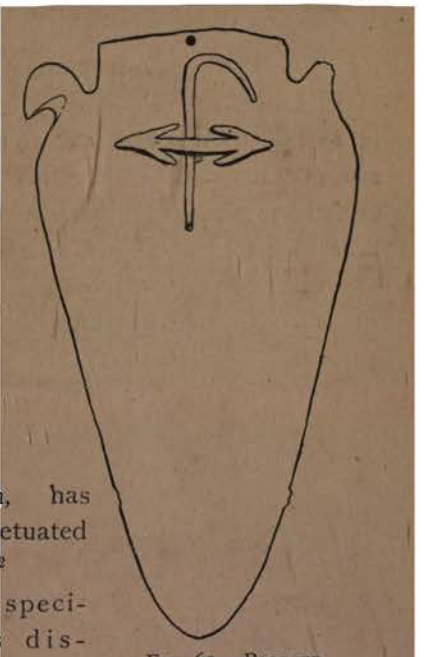


FIG. 63.—PALETTE.
With a sign (hieroglyphic ?) in relief.

FIG. 64.—PALETTE.
With two birds carved in relief.
MacGregor Collection.

Two specimens discovered at Diospolis Parva still retain their handles,[3] one of ivory and one of horn. Some mace-heads are of a different form, resembling a double hammer with

[1] At the British Museum these objects are not considered to be mace-heads. See BUDGE, *A Guide to the Third and Fourth Egyptian Rooms*, 1904, p. 48, Nos. 63-84. The proof that these pieces are really mace-heads will be found in the representations on painted coffins of the Middle Empire. See LEPSIUS, *Aelteste Texte des Todtenbuchs nach Sarcophagen des altägyptischen Reichs im Berliner Museum*, Berlin, 1867, pl. xxxviii. LACAU, *Sarcophages anterieurs au nouvel empire : Catalogue general des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire*, 1904, pl. lxiii. 277.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 24 and pl. iv. ; *Naqada*, pl. xvii.

[3] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, pl. v.

pointed ends[1] (Fig. 65). These mace-heads are usually without ornamentation. Nevertheless, a specimen in limestone was discovered at El Amrah decorated with black spots.[2] I am disposed to believe that some objects discovered by Petrie at Naqada are of the same class. He considers them to be a form of toy, having regard to the materials of which they are made—limestone and soft sandstone[3] (Fig. 66).

At Hierakonpolis, besides the show pieces I have just alluded to, Mr. Quibell discovered an enormous number of mace-heads,[4] which must have been merely for ceremonial use, judging, with Mr. Quibell, from the fact that the hole for the handle is not

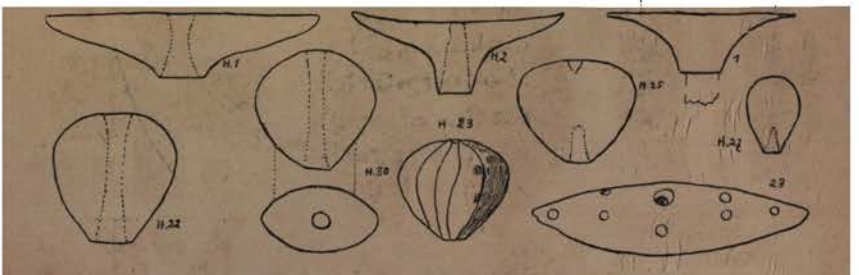


FIG. 65.—MACE-HEADS FROM HIERAKONPOLIS AND NAQADA.

always completely pierced. Mace-heads are occasionally found decorated with incised lines extending from the summit to the base (see Fig. 65, No. 23). The Berlin Museum possesses a curious mace-head in hard stone, which has been carved with weird effect in the shape of a tortoise (No. 15,716, Fig. 67). Another in the same museum (No. 15,142) is decorated with three designs derived from the bull's head type, of which we shall speak presently. The MacGregor Collection at Tamworth possesses two mace-heads, on one of which a human head is carved, and on the other two human heads, similar to those on the vase of our Fig. 69 (Nos. 3,495 and 3,779).

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xvii. 23 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). A hammer-shaped mace in the MacGregor Collection (No. 1,720) is terminated at one end by an animal's head.

[2] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. x. 6 and p. 16.

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. vii. and p. 35 (Ashmolean Museum).

[4] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xxvii. p. 41.

Finally, there are two mace-heads or sceptres which cannot be compared with any others known. One is of ivory, and is carved with three rows of captives, represented with their arms tied behind their backs, and fastened together in single file by a cord passed round their necks[1]; the other is in serpentine, carved in relief with alternate figures of dogs and lions.[2] These two pieces belong to the commencement of the historic period, and are masterpieces of workmanship (Fig. 68).

The perfection of the form of these mace-heads, made of the hardest stones, and—at any rate in the earliest period—without

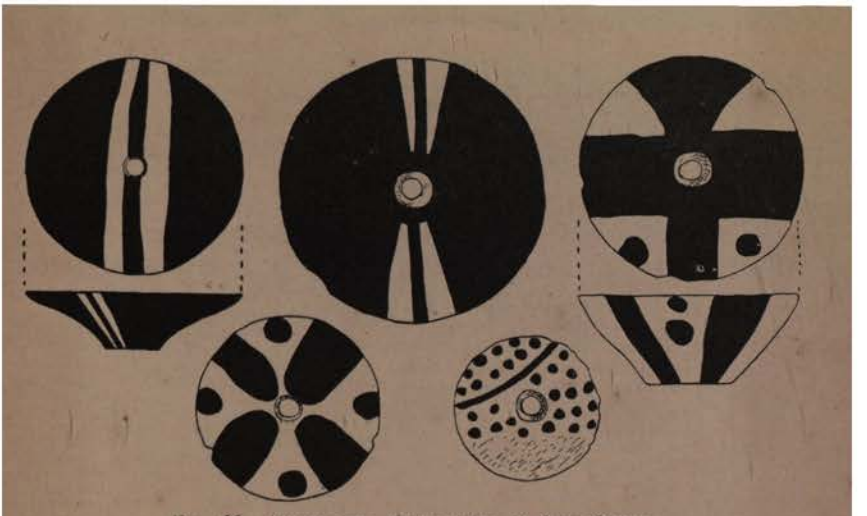


FIG. 66.—DECORATED MACE-HEADS IN SOFT STONE.

the aid of metal tools, is marvellous. Our amazement can only increase if we examine the stone vases which are found in the tombs as early as the commencement of the prehistoric period.

Of these Petrie writes: "Throughout the whole prehistoric age, from immediately after the rude savage burials of (sequence

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xii. and ii. pl. xxxvii.

[2] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xxiii. lxvi. and p. 38; i. pl. xix. On Fig. 68 is another mace-head from Hierakonpolis representing the fore part of two bulls or rams. *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xix. 3, xxv. and p. 8; ii. p. 38. An analogous specimen from Hû is now, like the preceding pieces, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

date) 30 down to the end, stone vases are abundant. Moreover, the taste for hard stone was kept up in the historic times; hundreds of stone bowls were buried with each king of the first dynasty, and many are found in tombs of the third and fourth dynasties. But in the twelfth dynasty the softer serpentine and alabaster supplanted the fine diorites and porphyries, and in the eighteenth dynasty the art of working hard stones was forgotten

FIG. 67.—MACE-HEAD CARVED IN FORM OF A TORTOISE.
Berlin Museum.

for anything but statuary. From the point of view of magnificence, and skill in using hard and beautiful stones, we must say that the Egyptians gradually rose to their highest level in the later prehistoric and early dynastic times, and that the sixth, twelfth or eighteenth dynasties cannot for a moment compare with the archaic splendours."[1]

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 18.

We must not linger here to study in detail the forms of these vases, and I will content myself with referring the reader to Petrie's remarks, and to the numerous plates on which all the forms discovered up to the present time are reproduced.[1] We must turn to the decoration of pottery, and to those examples

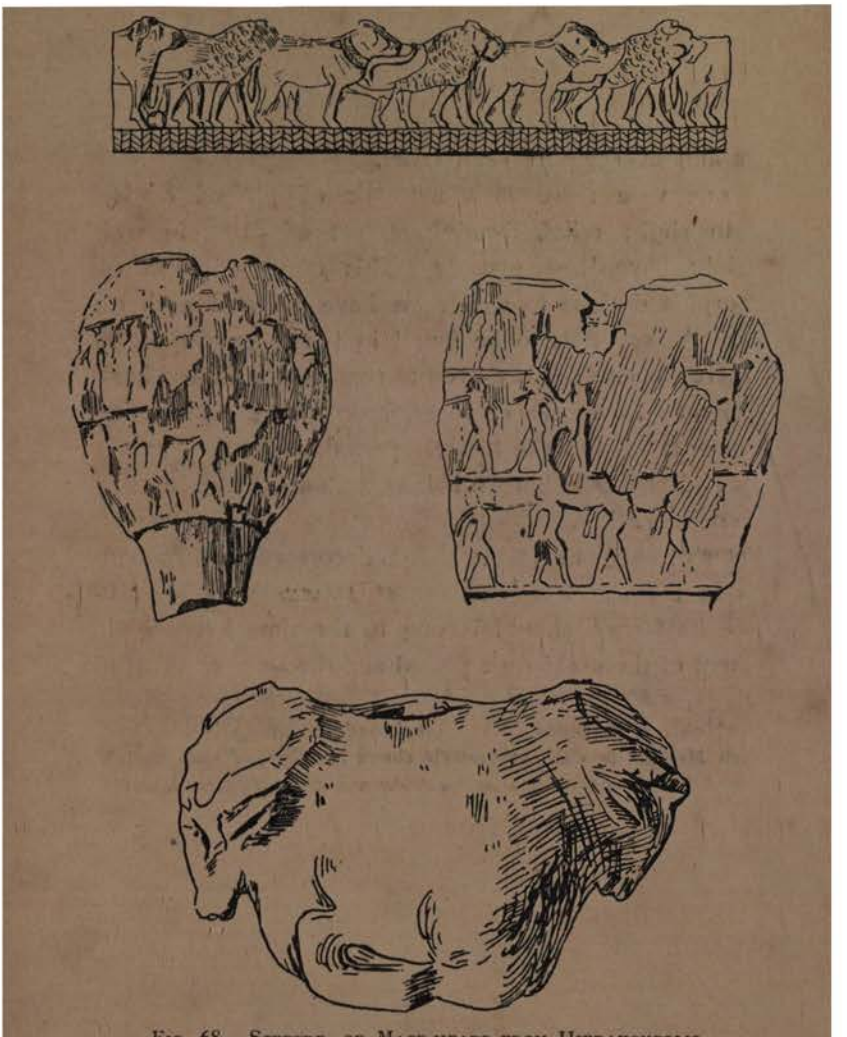


FIG. 68.—SCEPTRE- OR MACE-HEADS FROM HIERAKONPOLIS.

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, pp. 18, 19, and pl. iii. for the diagram showing the evolution of forms during the prehistoric period (Mr. Petrie tells me that he has reserved his opinion with regard to the evolution of the stone vases of cylindrical

where the vase itself has been given a form either animal or human.

Most frequently the vase is without decoration; occasionally there is a simple representation of a cord which encircles the neck, and care has been taken in working out the detail. In other instances it is a mere sinuous rounded line, which, in some cases, is not even continuous.[1] More rarely the vase is decorated with regular ribs worked with wonderful perfection[2]; or, again, it is faced with a decoration of shells closely arranged in rows and overlapping each other.

On one vase there is a network of plaited cords represented in slight relief, forming a sort of fillet, in which the vase might have been placed.[3] This is an example of those skeuomorphic designs to which we have referred earlier in the chapter. A second is to be found in the fragment of a marble vase, where the exterior is carved to represent a plaited basket.[4]

Finally, a whole series of vases, dating for the most part from the commencement of the historic period, show us figures in relief —heads and figures of human beings, animals, etc. We will rapidly pass them in review.

I know of only one vase which is decorated with human heads. This is in the Petrie Collection at University College, London, and from its form it should belong to the time between the commencement of the prehistoric period and the sequence dates 60-70;

form, of which the sequence dates were based on Mr. Quibell's observations, and which Mr. Petrie did not himself check closely); *Naqada*, pl. viii.-xvi.; *Diospolis*, pl. ix. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xvi. PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. xxvii. xlii. xlvii.; *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. lxvi.-liii.*g*; *Abydos*, i. pl. ix. x. QUIBELL, *El Kab*, pl. ii. iii. vi. x. xxvii. QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxxi.-xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii.; ii. pl. xxx. These indications refer also to the vases of the first Egyptian dynasties. See also A. H. SAYCE, *The Stone Vases of Ancient Egypt*, in *The Connoisseur, a Magazine for Collectors*, iv. 1902, pp. 159-165, with beautiful photographs of vases in the Berens Collection.

[1] Examples: PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. x.; *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. xlvii.*b*, lii. liii. liii.*a* and liii.*f*. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxxiii.

[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, ii. p. 184. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. lix. 7. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. xlix. pl. v. 12; i. pl. xxxviii. 1 and 2.

[3] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. vi. 27, xxix. 21-25, and xli. 94. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, ii. fig. 823, p. 245.

[4] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. ix. 12.

it is therefore entirely of the prehistoric period. There we see two human heads, sculptured in relief on the body of the vase, and of the same type we have already met with. The mouth is indicated by a strongly accentuated horizontal line, and the eyes marked by means of two beads fixed into the cavities of the stone [1] (Fig. 69).

Two fragments of vases in the Berlin Museum bear in light relief barks and human figures (Nos. 15,084 and 15,693). The fragment No. 15,084 is specially remarkable for the representation

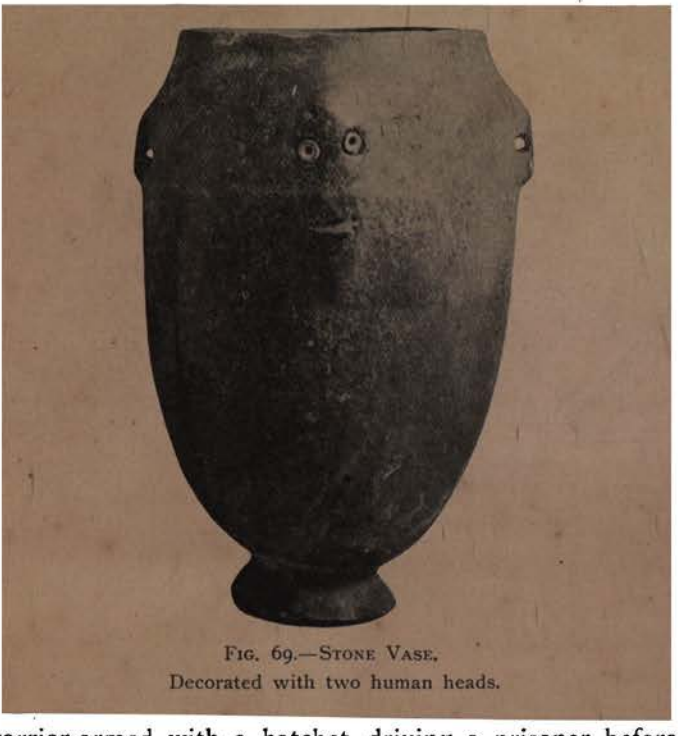


FIG. 69.—STONE VASE.
Decorated with two human heads.

of a warrior armed with a hatchet, driving a prisoner before him. The style of this figure is somewhat similar to those we find later on the votive maces and palettes (Figs. 70 and 71).

At Hierakonpolis Mr. Quibell discovered a whole series of vases decorated with figures of animals. There are heads of feline creatures above a sign which resembles the hieroglyph 𓈙,[2]

[1] A fragment of a similar vase was found by Mr. Quibell at Ballas. See PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xlii. 26, and p. 42.

[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xvii.

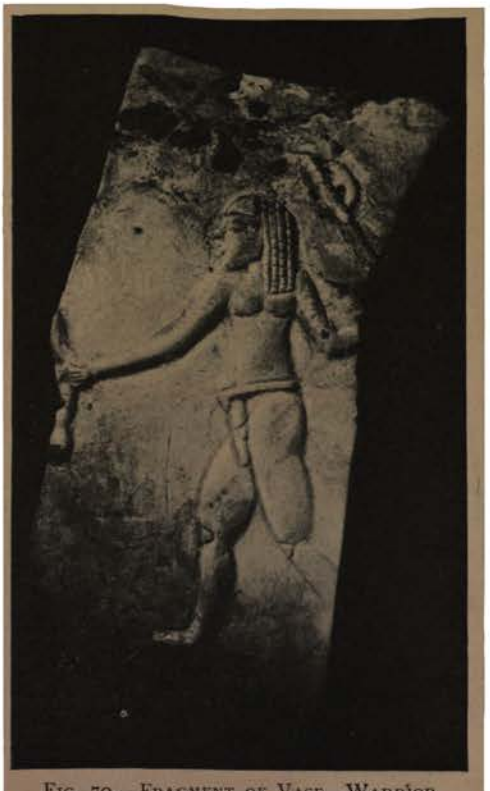


FIG. 70.—FRAGMENT OF VASE—WARRIOR ARMED WITH A HATCHET.
Berlin Museum.

a figure of a scorpion[1] (Fig. 72); and, finally, a very curious group, which I am tempted to consider as a pictographic representation, without, however, being able to suggest any reading of it. It is more especially the fact of the bow being depicted that makes me suspect it to be something of this description[2] (Fig. 73). Other pieces, unfortunately fragmentary, show a bird's head, and also a strange object terminated by a star.[3]

The royal tombs of the first dynasty at Abydos have afforded few fragments of this nature. On some, curious ornaments are carved in relief, none of which, unfortunately, can be identified with certainty. An alabaster vase from the same locality is incised at the base with a series of signs, .[4]

FIG. 71.—FRAGMENT OF VASE WITH BOAT IN LOW RELIEF.
Berlin Museum.

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xvii. and xxiii.

[2] *Id.* i. pl. xix. xx. and xxv.

[3] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lix.

[4] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. v. 15, vi.*a*, 22, 23; i. pl. xxxviii. 4, and ii. pl. li.*h*, 335.

We must mention that ivory was also used for vases, and, judging from a very fine fragment discovered at Abydos, it was decorated in the same manner as stone.[1]

To pass to vases of fantastic shapes, one of the most curious is that discovered by Petrie at Abydos, which represents

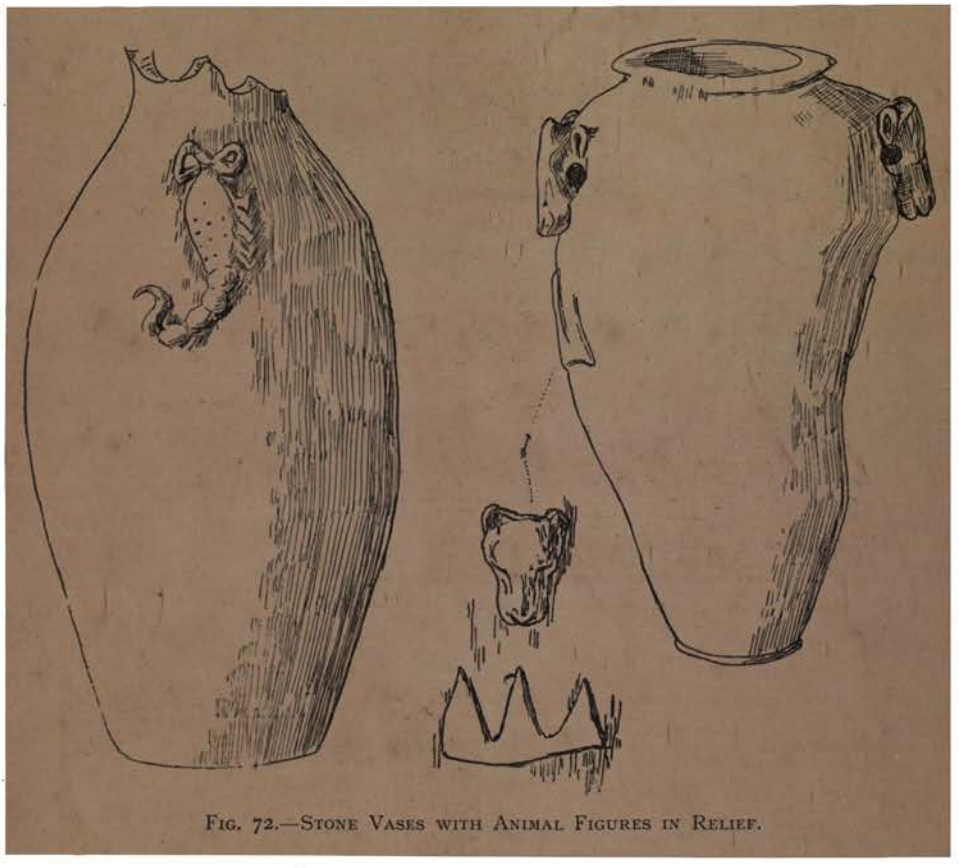


FIG. 72.—STONE VASES WITH ANIMAL FIGURES IN RELIEF.

a leather bottle[2] (Fig. 74). Other specimens from Naqada represent birds, frogs, and hippopotami (Figs. 75 and 76). At Hierakonpolis Mr. Quibell discovered two vases of steatite and serpentine in form of birds.[3] In the MacGregor Collection at Tamworth there is a small steatite vase, at the base of which

[1] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. vi. 22.
[2] *Id.* i. pl. xxxviii. 3, and p. 28.
[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xx. 2 and 4, and p. 8; ii. p. 38.

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is the head and four paws of a small animal, which appears to support the vase with its body (Catalogue 3,544). In the same collection there is a vase shaped like a frog, which still preserves its ancient gold mounting. The lateral handles covered with gold leaf are crossed by a thin strip of metal, to which the artist has given the form of a serpent. Very fine and delicate gold chains are attached to the serpent, and served to suspend the vase.

FIG. 73.—PICTOGRAPHIC (?) INSCRIPTION ON A STONE VASE.

The Berlin Museum possesses several unpublished pieces. One is a stone vase in form of an elephant (No. 14,146); another is a vase in form of a hippopotamus (No. 14,147); a third is a vase in form of a dog (No. 12,590)[1] (Fig. 77). Another is a vase in form of a frog (No. 14,403), and the last of the series represents a fish (No. 16,025).

In the Petrie Collection at University College, London, is a vase which represents what is probably an elephant. Two

[1] *Königliche Museen zu Berlin—Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse*, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1899, p. 36 and fig. 2, where one can indistinctly see No. 12,590.

fragments from the same collection exhibit two hippopotamus heads, and there is another of which it is difficult to recognize

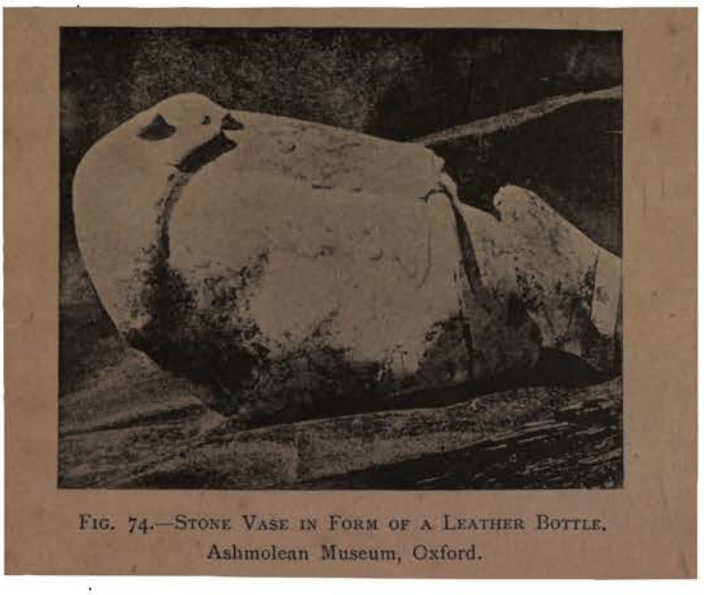


FIG. 74.—STONE VASE IN FORM OF A LEATHER BOTTLE.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

the subject. Is it in reality a representation of an animal (Fig. 78)?

FIG. 75.—STONE VASE IN FORM OF A BIRD.

Most of the forms met with in stone vases, and also most of the decorations found on them, we shall find again in pottery.

But, to begin with, we must enquire whether, as regards Egypt, we can verify the hypothesis which attributes the origin of

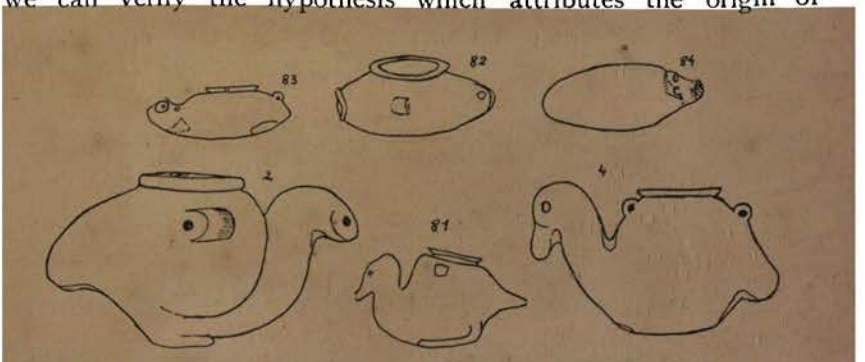


FIG. 76.—STONE VASES IN FORM OF FROGS, HIPPOPOTAMUS, AND BIRDS.

primitive pottery to moulding, or, at least, to copying a basket in plaited work.[1]

Did the primitive Egyptian understand basket work? In

FIG. 77.—VASE IN FORM OF A DOG.
Berlin Museum.

the earliest prehistoric tombs either the body was wrapped in matting, or the bottom of the tomb was lined with a mat.[2]

[1] For the same fact in primitive Greek civilization, see JOHN L. MYRES, *Textile Impressions on an Early Clay Vessel from Amorgos*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. November, 1897, pp. 178-180 and pl. xii.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 15, tomb 31; p. 23, tomb B14; p. 25, tomb 42; p. 27, tomb 722. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 31, and pl. xi. 5, 6.

Mats were frequently employed throughout the whole of the Ancient Empire, both as carpets and for decorating the walls of rooms. The representations of tombs of the fifth dynasty show to what a degree of perfection they had attained at this period.[1]

In the tombs of the prehistoric cemetery of El Amrah were found baskets of the usual spherical form containing malachite.[2] The patterns on several specimens recall the baskets made at

FIG. 78.—VASE, AND FRAGMENTS OF VASES, IN FORM OF ANIMALS.

the present day in the Soudan. The same comparison was made by M. Amelineau on discovering in one of the chambers of the tomb of King Khâsakhmui a large quantity of objects in basket work: "... I found there," he says, "fairly long pieces of wood covered with matting. These I met with again throughout the chamber. I promptly recognized that these pieces of wood with matting round them were remains of broken chairs, for one of the ends was not covered with matting. These chairs were at least 0^m40 high and about 0^m60 broad, which gives the well known form of a species of high stool. Upon these chairs were placed other specimens of basket work, which,

[1] PETRIE, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, pp. 44, 45.

[2] MACIVER, *A prehistoric cemetery at El Amrah in Egypt*, in *Man*, 1901, No. 40, p. 52; MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xi. 2, and p. 42.

plaited with a kind of parti-coloured straw, resembled the basket work still made in the Soudan and sold in the bazaar at Assouan. When I asked my workmen whether they had anything of the

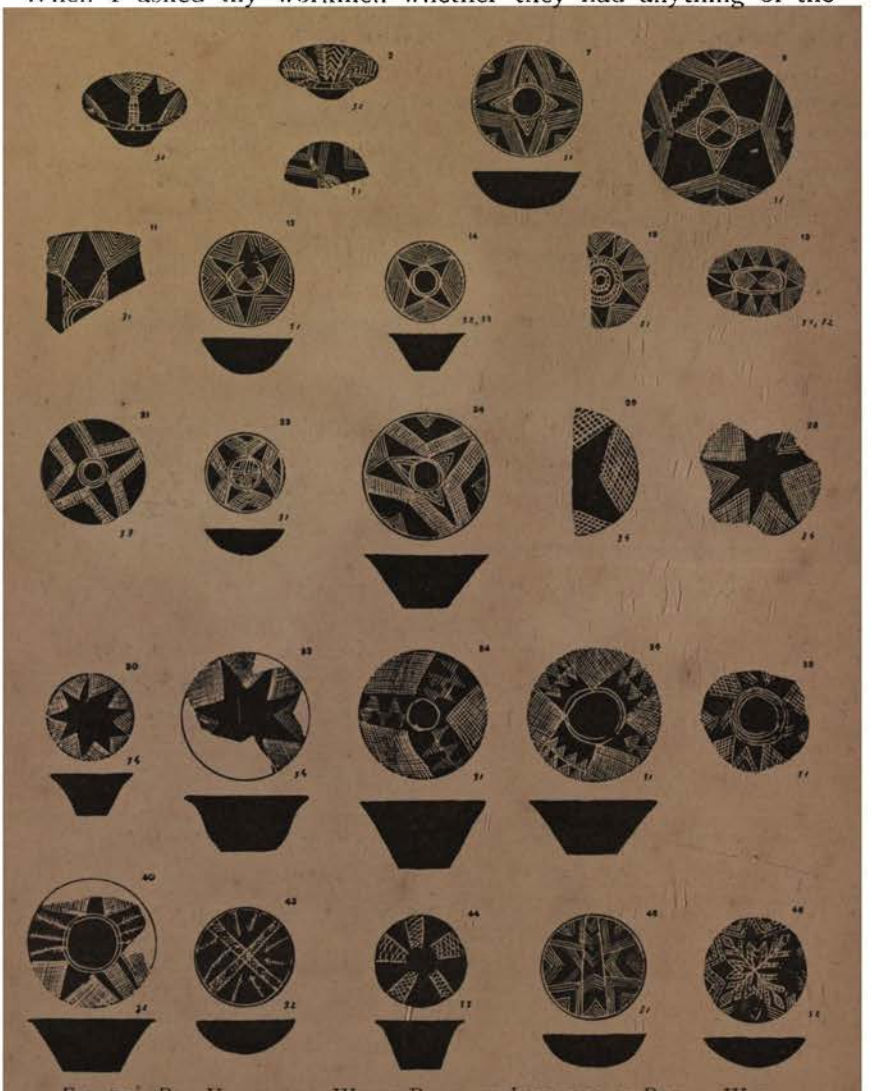


FIG. 79.—RED VASES WITH WHITE PAINT, IN IMITATION OF BASKET WORK.

same kind inside their houses, they replied in the negative, but told me that the work closely resembled the *Margonê* made by the Berbers. The word struck me, and I immediately recalled

the word ***MAPKΩNI***, which I had met with in the Coptic life of Pakhome. . . ."[1]

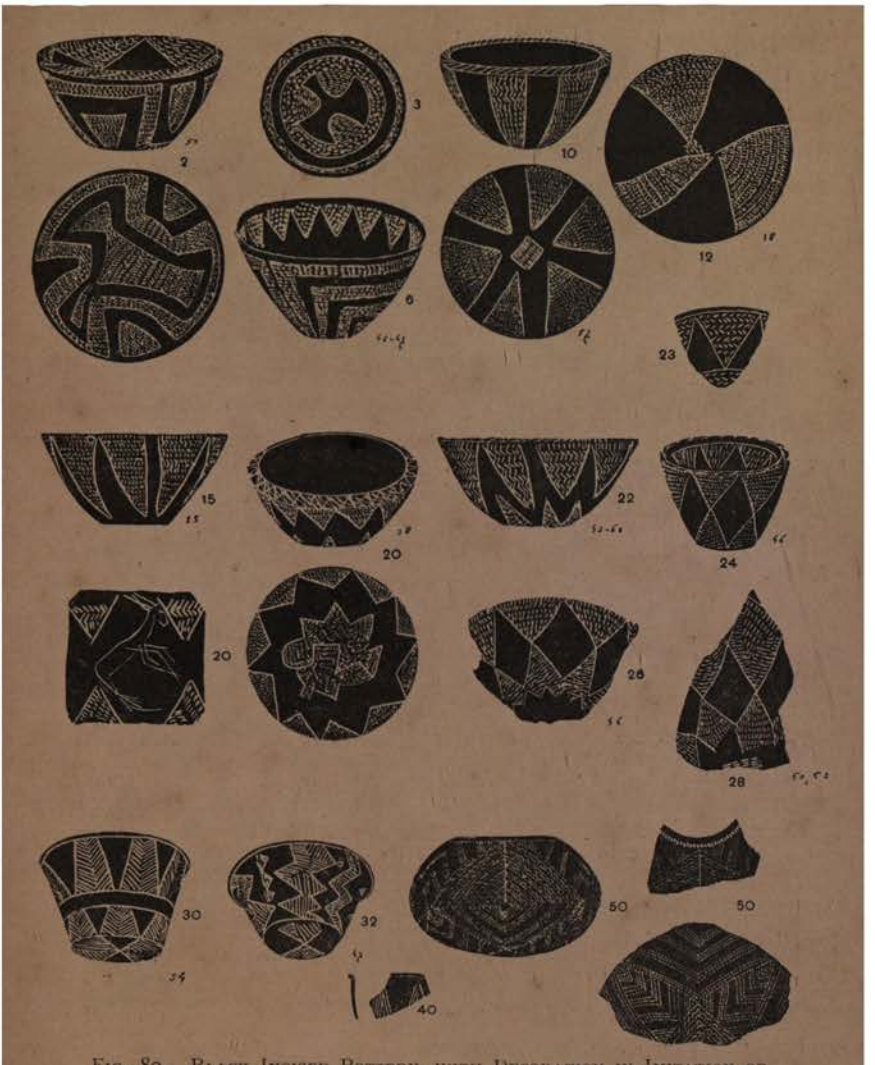


FIG. 80.—BLACK INCISED POTTERY, WITH DECORATION IN IMITATION OF BASKET WORK.

Independently of ceramic art, the industry of the basket

[1] AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, second season, 1896-7. *Compte rendu in extenso*, Paris, 1902, pp. 176, 177; *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos* (1896-7), Paris, 1897, p. 40. See PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. p. 15.

maker, as Petrie has remarked,[1] left numerous traces on the decorative art of the first dynasty.

The imitation of the basket in prehistoric pottery is especially noticeable in two classes of pottery. The first of these is what is called by Petrie *cross-lined pottery*—a polished red surface with designs in white, which is only found in the most ancient tombs (sequence dates 31-34); the other is a black pottery, with incisions filled with a whitish paste, and probably imported[2] (Figs. 79 and 80). Several specimens with imitations of basket work also belong to the class of decorated pottery.[3]

Here we must also note that a considerable number of pottery vases are decorated to imitate hard stone, and are intended as substitutes for vases made of more valuable materials. Petrie has remarked that in tombs where fine stone vases are found, of pottery vases there are few or none.[4]

With the mention of occasional instances of vases modelled from a gourd, as in the example published by Herr von Bissing,[5] we have, I think, observed all the principal cases where designs which are skeuomorphic or derived from technique are met with.

We will now consider the decoration of the vases independently of the origin of the various designs found on them. The first class of pottery which should arrest our attention is that of vases of a brilliant red colour, on which the designs are painted in white. As we have already remarked, these belong to the earliest period. The striking analogy which exists between this pottery and that made at the present day by the Kabyles has several times been pointed out.[6]

[1] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pp. 35, 39.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 38 and pl. xxviii. 34, 36, 46, xxix. 52-79, xxx.; *Diospolis parva*, p. 14, pl. xiv. 55-70. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xv.

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 40, and pl. xxxiii. 12, 29. SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik der ältesten Cultur-Epoche Aegyptens*, in the *Verhandlungen der b. Gesellsch. für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, and Urgeschichte*, 1897, pp. 397, 398.

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 40, pl. xxxiii. 1, xxxv. 62, 63, 65, 67; *Diospolis parva*, pp. 15 and 18.

[5] VON BISSING, *Les origines de l'Égypte*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, p. 254 and pl. iv. fig. 1. PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxvi. 40-43, 50-52.

[6] PETRIE, *Diospolis parva*, p. 14; *Naqada*, p. 38. MACIVER & WILKIN,

We have said that pottery was often decorated with lines in imitation of basket work; but in addition to these we find floral designs, representations of animals and human beings, and also a series of zigzag lines, the whole in the same style as the painted patterns on the archaic statuettes which we have already described.

When floral designs make their appearance it is as simple

FIG. 81.—VASES PAINTED IN WHITE WITH FLORAL DESIGNS.

branches much conventionalized, with which one is tempted to compare the similar decorations of certain Greek prehistoric vases discovered at Santorin.[1] We give reproductions of two

Libyan Notes, frontispiece. JOHN L. MYERS, *Notes on the History of the Kabyle Pottery*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. January—June, 1902, p. 248-262 and pl. xx.

[1] VON BISSING, *Les origines de l'Égypte*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, pl. iii. 1 and 3. PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxviii. 40-42; pl. xxix. 69, 76, 85*d*; the application of the laws of transformation of natural designs into geometrical will be found in the specimens figured, pl. xxviii. 40, 42, 46, 48; pl. xxix. 52, 54, 61, 63, 64, etc. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xv. 10, 20, 21.

vases showing branches which are fairly decorative. Both sides of the smaller vase are figured in a position to show distinctly the floral decorations[1] (Fig. 81).

The other face of the vase in the centre of Fig. 81, decorated with human figures, has already been reproduced as an illustration of the hairdressing of the men (Fig. 13). Two other vases

FIG. 82.—BOWL PAINTED IN WHITE WITH FIGURES OF HIPPOPOTAMI AND A CROCODILE.

discovered—one at Abydos and the other at Meâla—also show human figures.[2]

Representations of animals are more numerous. The hippopotamus occurs most frequently; antelopes of various species are also found, and other animals which cannot always be identified

[1] PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Pottery*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 83, pl. H, 2.

[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pl. ii. 5 and pl. iii. fig. i. VON BISSING, *loc. cit.* pp. 246, 247.

with certainty—fish, birds, crocodiles, scorpions, etc. It will be sufficient to describe a few instances of these. A large oval bowl in the Petrie Collection, University College, London, is decorated in the centre with a crocodile; at the upper part with three hippopotami; below, at the lower part, with lines crossing each other at right angles, which, according to Petrie, may indicate the ripples of water[1] (Fig. 82). Another vase from the same collection is decorated with a floral design, a deer, and an animal that Petrie calls a hedgehog, although I am not absolutely

FIG. 83.—VASES PAINTED IN WHITE WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS.

convinced of the accuracy of this identification[2] (vase in centre of Fig. 83).

A vase which apparently comes from Gebelein shows some extremely curious figures. On one side two antelopes, placed above a series of zigzag lines; on the other side, a strange animal with a body greatly elongated, and a small head surmounted by two pointed ears. At first one would be disposed to consider it a giraffe, but the way in which the body is drawn precludes

[1] PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Pottery*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 83 and pl. H, 5.
[2] *Ib.* No. 83 and pl. H, 4.

this hypothesis. A fragment discovered at Naqada (xxix. 98) shows us in how characteristic a fashion the giraffe was represented. May not the animal here figured have been the okapi, recently discovered in the Belgian Congo, and which was certainly known to the ancient Egyptians, as Professor Wiedemann has demonstrated?[1] (Fig. 83).

A vase found, according to Herr Von Bissing, at Abydos, according to M. de Morgan, at Gebelein, is equally worthy of our attention. It is a most curious specimen of this class of vase. In the centre is a scorpion; surrounding it are various animals: a hippopotamus, crocodiles, fish, birds, tortoise, and other figures which are unrecognizable. But the most interesting object is the drawing of a ship, similar to those we shall soon have to examine, and which ordinarily appear upon another class of pottery[2] (Fig. 84).

FIG. 84.—VASE PAINTED IN WHITE WITH A BOAT AND VARIOUS ANIMALS.
After *l'Anthropologie*.

These examples are sufficient to give an idea of vases showing animal figures,[3] and it only remains for us to mention two specimens decorated with geometrical designs and with strange figures of which the explanation has yet to be found.

[1] WIEDEMANN, *Das Okapi im alten Aegypten*, in *Die Umschau*, vi. 1902, pp. 1002-1005; *Das ägyptische Set-Thier*, in the *Orientalistische Litteratur Zeitung*, v. 1902, col. 220-223. PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Pottery*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 83, pl. H, 1.

[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pl. ii. 5. VON BISSING, *loc. cit.* pl. iii. fig. 2, and pp. 246, 247.

[3] See also PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxix. 91-97; *Diospolis*, pl. xiv. 93*b*, 96; *Prehistoric Egyptian Pottery*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 83, pl. H, 6. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xv. 17, 18? (conventionalized animal?). DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pl. ii. 1; pl. iii. 2, 3. VON BISSING, *loc. cit.* pl. iii. 1 and 3; pl. iv. 5.

These two vases belong to the Petrie Collection, University College, London[1] (Fig. 85).

Of an entirely different type is the "decorated pottery,"[2] to

FIG. 85.—VASES PAINTED IN WHITE.
University College, London.

which we must now turn our attention. The earliest specimens

[1] PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Pottery*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 83. pl. H, 3, p. 133: "The upper figures might be adzes or hoes, the lower figures are curiously like lictors' fasces, but no such forms are known in Egypt; they may, however, be a form of stone axes set in handles. Certainly neither can be the hieroglyphic *neter* sign, as that had double projections down to dynastic times."

[2] HOERNES, M., *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa von den Anfängen bis um 500 vor Chr.*, Vienna, 1898, Nachträge, 2, *Neolithische Vasenmalerei in Aegypten*, pp. 687-689.

are almost contemporary with the white painted pottery, but it is after the sequence date 40 that they are most frequently met with. It appears that the origin of this kind of pottery should be sought for at a distance, and if the specimens of the white painted type are related to Kabyle pottery, it is in the direction of the Syrian coasts of the Mediterranean that

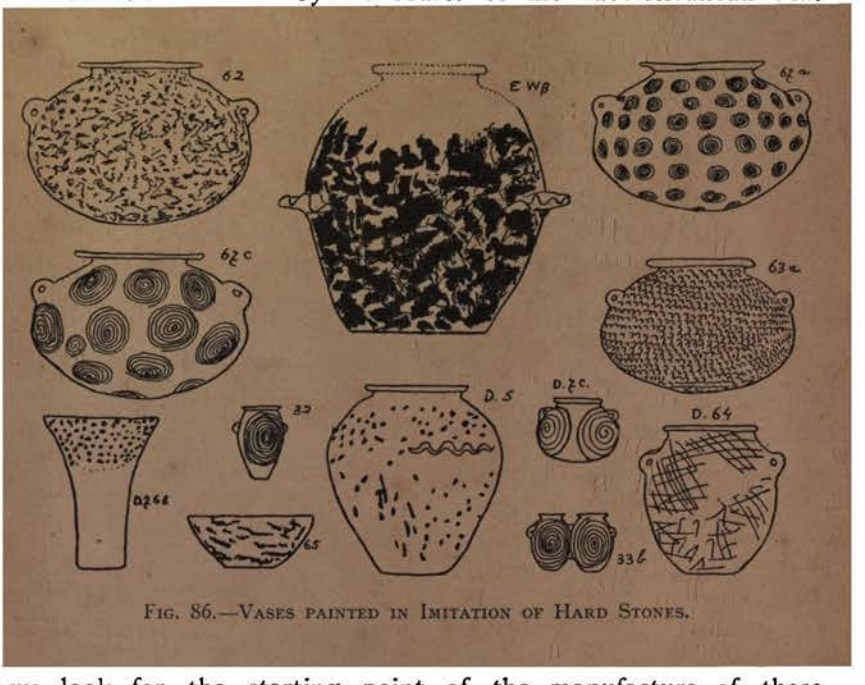


FIG. 86.—VASES PAINTED IN IMITATION OF HARD STONES.

we look for the starting point of the manufacture of these "decorated vases." [1]

It will be remembered that, in specifying the classes of pottery, we mentioned vases coloured in imitation of stone. It is sometimes breccia[2] that is thus copied, sometimes various kinds of marble; but the most interesting imitation is that of nummulitic limestone, represented by a series of spirals, according to a most ingenious identification made by Petrie

[1] Petrie has termed these vases "decorated pottery," and we will continue to apply this term to them.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxiii. 1, and p. 40, xxxi. 6 (wavy handled); *Diospolis*, pl. xv. 5, 18 *b* and *c* (wavy handled); xvi. 64, 76 *b*. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xiv. W β (wavy handled).

and Schweinfurth.[1] Little by little the spirals were developed, after the recollection of that which they originally represented was lost, and eventually the decorator was satisfied to trace two or three enormous spirals on his vase by way of ornamentation[2] (Fig. 86).

This ornamentation has been wrongly interpreted by several observers, who considered the spirals to be intended as a representation of the sea. Unfortunately for this theory, spirals and representations of ships are never, to the best of my knowledge, met with on the same piece of pottery.[3]

FIG. 87.—VASES DECORATED IN IMITATION OF BASKET WORK.

We must call attention to the representations of vases of hard stone which are found in certain tombs of the Old Empire, representations which follow the same lines as those of the primitive decorators.[4]

Other vases—and this is merely a repetition of what I have previously stated—are decorated with lines representing the covering of plaited straw with which the vase was covered, a covering sometimes loose, at other times tightly twisted.[5]

It is thus that a vase published by De Morgan, discovered in Upper Egypt, and showing a slightly different style of work, reproduces most exactly, according to Schweinfurth, "those great baskets for milk that the present inhabitants of Somaliland weave with much skill out of the roots of leather-like toughness of the bushy *Asparagus retroflexus*"[6] (Fig. 87).

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxv. 67 *a*, *b*, *c*, and p. 40. SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik der ältesten Cultur-Epoche Aegyptens*, in the *Verhandlungen der b. Gesellsch. für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1897, pp. 397, 398.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxiv. 31 *a*-33 *b*; *Diospolis*, pl. xv. 7 *c*.

[3] *A propos des bateaux égyptiens*, in *l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1900, pp. 115, 347.

[4] DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi*, i. pl. xvii. xix. and pp. 22, 23.

[5] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxii. xxxv.; *Diospolis*, pl. xv. xvi. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xiv.

[6] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pl. ix. 1. Compare PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxv. 76. VON BISSING, *Les origines de l'Égypte*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898,

It is undoubtedly in this method of decoration that we may hope to find the origin of those parallel lines scattered in more or less regular groups over the surface of the vase. In some specimens they are carefully arranged in chequer, suggesting a draughtboard effect; in other cases, again, they are merely lines which appear to be drawn at hazard[1] (Fig. 87).

Frequently, also, we find on the vase, sometimes combined with imitations of plaiting or of other designs, a series of small triangles which probably represent mountains.[2] In one instance there are human beings and animals placed on the triangles, exactly as on the famous statues of Min discovered at Koptos, a resemblance pointed out by Petrie[3] (Fig. 88).

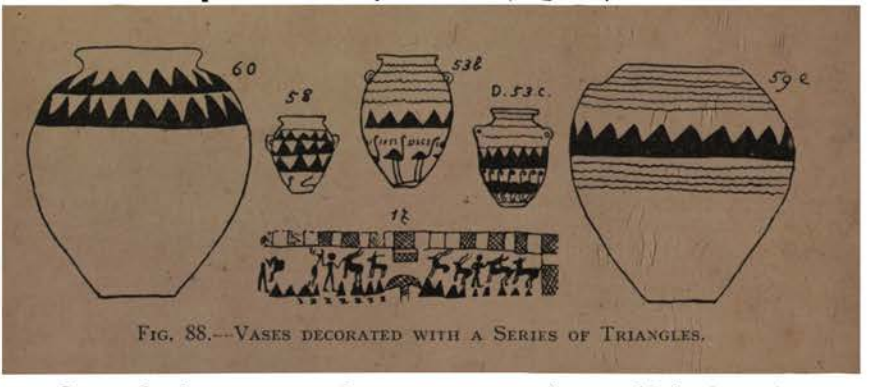


FIG. 88.—VASES DECORATED WITH A SERIES OF TRIANGLES.

One of the most curious representations which has been found upon these vases is that of a plant grown in a pot, which Schweinfurth has recognized to be the aloe, a plant which does not belong to the spontaneous flora of Egypt. One still meets with it in Egypt, cultivated in cemeteries or placed

pp. 247, 248. SCHWEINFURTH, *Ueber den Ursprung der Aegypter*, in the *Verhandlungen der b. Gesellsch. für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1897, p. 281; *Ornamentik der ältesten Cultur-Epoche Aegyptens*, *ib.* p. 397.

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxiii. 11, 12, 20, 21, 23, 24, 26; *Diospolis*, pl. xv. 3, 4*f*, 20*b*, 20*c*, 21*b*, 25*a*.

[2] See MACIVER & WILKIN, *Libyan Notes*, London, 1901, p. 65, note 2: "The so-called 'mountain' pattern found on prehistoric Egyptian decorated pottery occurs everywhere in Kabyle work, where it has clearly nothing to do with mountains, but arises from a combination of the triangles which enter as units into almost all these rectilinear designs."

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxiv. and lxvii. 13-15, 17, and p. 49; *Diospolis*, pl. xvi. 53*c*, 54, 59*e*, 78*c*.

above the doors of houses as a symbol of vital force and as a preservative against the evil eye. The funerary character of this plant should be borne in mind, and we shall have occasion to refer to it later on[1] (Fig. 89).

Other representations appear to be intended to indicate trees, and are sufficiently like the hieroglyph to permit this identification. I suppose it is to these that Petrie alludes when he speaks of representations of bushes, which, combined with signs of mountains, should indicate the landscape, in the midst of which are animals, men, and boats.[2]

FIG. 89.—REPRESENTATIONS OF ALOES AND TREES.

The animals represented are few in number. One finds ostriches and various kinds of gazelles and antelopes; in exceptional cases the crocodile and the chameleon appear.[3] A very remarkable vase discovered at Abydos shows the figure of a kudu and of two long-horned sheep,[4] and also a representation

[1] SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik der ältesten Cultur-Epoche Aegyptens*, *loc. cit.* p. 392. PETRIE, *Diospolis*, p. 16.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, p. 16.

[3] SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik*, etc., p. 399: "Man erkennt unter ihnen die Säbel- und Beisa-Antilope (*Oryx leucoryx* und *Oryx Beisa*), ferner Addax-Antilopen, beziehungsweise Wasserböcke, vielleicht auch Kudus."

[4] THILENIUS, *Das ägyptische Hausschaf* in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. 1900, pp. 199-212. DÜRST & CLAUDE GAILLARD, *Studien über die Geschichte des ägyptischen Hausschafes*, *ib.* xxiv. 1902, pp. 44-76.

FIG. 90.—DECORATED VASE WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS, AND A TREE WITH BIRDS PERCHED ON IT.

FIG. 91.—VARIOUS DESIGNS ON DECORATED POTTERY—BOATS, HUMAN BEINGS, ANIMALS, TREES, SHIELDS (?), ETC.

of a tree, figured in a different manner from that we ordinarily meet with, and on which birds are perched.[1] With this we can

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. l. and p. 23.

compare a vase showing an aloe on which are two birds[1] and another similar fragment[2] (Fig. 90).

More rarely human figures appear; of these the principal ones will be found on Fig. 91. Here we first find female figures, extremely diagrammatic; occasionally even the arms are not indicated; the body is resolved into two triangles superimposed one on the other, and surmounted by an oval black mass for the head.[3] Ordinarily the females appear in an attitude identical with that of the statuette reproduced in Fig. 5 of this book, and which, if we may judge from the similar representations on the tombs of the Ancient Empire, should be a characteristic indication of dancing.[4] If this interpretation is accepted—we shall see presently what foundation there is for it—the two persons represented before a "dancer" on the vase discovered at El Amrah will be recognized, as they are by Mr. MacIver, as castanette players[5] (Fig. 92).

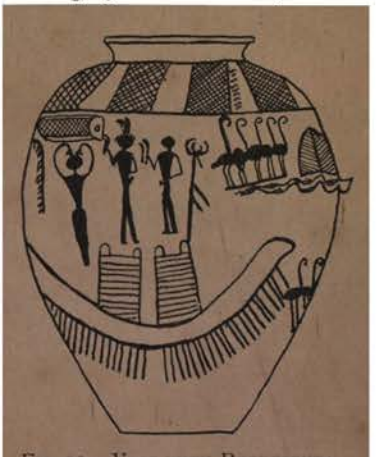


FIG. 92.—VASE WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF CASTANETTE PLAYERS (?) BEFORE A DANCER (?). From El Amrah.

With the exception of this instance I have just referred to, when men are represented we see them upright and walking, sometimes with indications of the sheath or karnata described in Chapter II. On one specimen an attempt has perhaps been made to represent them chasing antelopes; they carry sticks or boomerangs (?)[6] (Figs. 88 and 91).

The most startling objects met with on these primitive vases

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xiv. D 49.
[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxvi. 3.
[3] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xiv. D 50*b*.
[4] DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, ii. p. 65.
[5] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xiv. D 46, and p. 42.
[6] Vases with human figures: PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxv. 77; lxvi. 5, 7; lxvii. 17. CECIL TORR, *Sur quelques prétendus navires égyptiens*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, p. 33, fig. 1; p. 34, figs. 3*a* and 3*b*; p. 35, figs. 5*a* and 5*b*. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. pl. x. 2*a*, 2*b*.

are the representations of ships. They occur on a fairly large number of vases—boats with oars or even with sails, and combined with figures of human beings and animals in a landscape of trees and mountains, they enliven the pottery with scenes the signification of which we shall study later. We must content ourselves for the moment with remarking, with Schweinfurth, that without exception, these boats are drawn showing the left side (larboard). The Egyptians, he remarks, orientate themselves towards the south, and for them the west being on the right hand and the east on the left, the position of the boats indicates that they are being navigated against the current[1] (Figs. 91 and 94).

FIG. 93.—VASE DECORATION REPRESENTING GAZELLES FIGHTING.

We must here refer to a class of objects to which we shall return later. These are pottery boats, found in several tombs, one of which is painted in a very unsophisticated manner with figures of rowers, each with an oar in his hand[2] (Fig. 91).

There is a curious vase where the artist has represented a fight between gazelles; also fish, a crocodile, an ostrich, and two boats. A strange ornamentation is several times repeated, which I believe to be unique, consisting of lozenges, half black, half white[3] (Fig. 93).

Occasionally on these decorated vases, close to the boats, one finds zigzag lines, intended to represent water. Several

[1] SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik*, etc., p. 400.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxvi. 80 and lxvi. 1.

[3] LEGRAIN, *Notes d'inspection*, vi.; *La nécropole archaïque du Gebel Silsileh*, in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, iv. 1903, pp. 218-220, and figs. 5, 6.

vases show a curious object difficult to identify, considered by Petrie to be a mast and sail, and which in that case might be compared to the hieroglyph .[1] Schweinfurth sees in them shields made of skin, which, by analogy with the similar weapons of the Dinkas, Baris, and Kaffirs, would be secured by means of a long pole, and these in Egypt would carry the ensign at the upper end[2] (Fig. 91).

On the vases are also found a series of signs in the form of S, N, and Z,[3] for which it may perhaps be difficult to account. When, however, we remember that we have previously remarked hair-pins decorated with birds which occasionally present forms

FIG. 94.—VASE WITH VARIOUS REPRESENTATIONS.
From de Morgan.

very similar to an S, we may, I think, presume that these signs are derived from a summarized form of a row of ostriches. I am much inclined to find a similar abbreviation of forms upon a vase discovered by Petrie at Abadiyeh,[4] where there is a series of the sign , which I regard as a very summary drawing of female figures represented with the arms raised above the head (Fig. 95).

There are other vases the decoration of which can scarcely be classed with any of those we have passed under review. Among these are the vases on which there is a five-pointed star[5]; another with human figures drawn reversed and in a very

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxvi. 6, 9, 10, and p. 49.
[2] SCHWEINFURTH, *Ornamentik*, etc., p. 399.
[3] *Ib.* p. 398.
[4] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. xx. 8.
[5] *Ib.* pl. xv.

summary fashion[1]; and, finally, a small number of vases on which are crocodiles—one of which is pierced with harpoons—scorpions, and serpents[2] (Fig. 97). I include in this series a specimen in the Berlin Museum, on which are painted serpents, crocodiles, ostriches, and giraffes (No. 15,129; Fig. 96).

We must now deal with the rare vases decorated with designs in relief, of which a specimen discovered at Naqada shows the figure of a lizard and another of a scorpion[3] (Fig. 97).

FIG. 95.—DECORATED VASE FROM ABADIYEH.

On a vase in the British Museum (No. 36,328) decorated with ostriches, triangles, and boats, two of the handles are surmounted with figures of birds. On the same vase there are two figures which cannot be identified, symmetrically arranged, in relief.[4] Another specimen at University College, London, is decorated in relief with figures of a crocodile, a crescent, and a harpoon.

In the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, there

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxv. 77.

[2] *Ib.* pl. xxxv. 78; *Diospolis*, pl. xvi. 78*b*, 78*c*, 78*d*.

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxvi. 87, and p. 41.

[4] BUDGE, *A Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, 2nd ed. 1904, p. 32, No. 164.

are three red vases, with the upper edge blackened (black-topped pottery), which date from the commencement of the historic period, and possess special interest (Fig. 98). On the first, found at Naqada (tomb 1,449), is seen a head roughly worked in relief; this is carried on by a line in relief, which descends perpendicularly, becoming gradually thinner. I believe this re-

FIG. 96.—VASE WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF GIRAFFES, OSTRICHES, CROCODILES, AND SNAKES. Berlin Museum.

presents the body of the man. From each side near the top, two ascending lines in relief are detached, which represent the arms. Near the base, at a certain distance from the central line, can be distinguished, also in relief, two circular knobs, from which two lines ascend somewhat abruptly to the top of the vase. The man must be clasping the vase, in a position

which is difficult to imagine, and can only be explained by the inexperience of the primitive artist, who has not omitted to represent the head full-face (the two photographs in the centre of Fig. 98 are two fragments of a similar vase). The special interest of this curious vase consists in its permitting us to watch the operation of that law of extreme simplification which we have recently been considering. This is carried still further

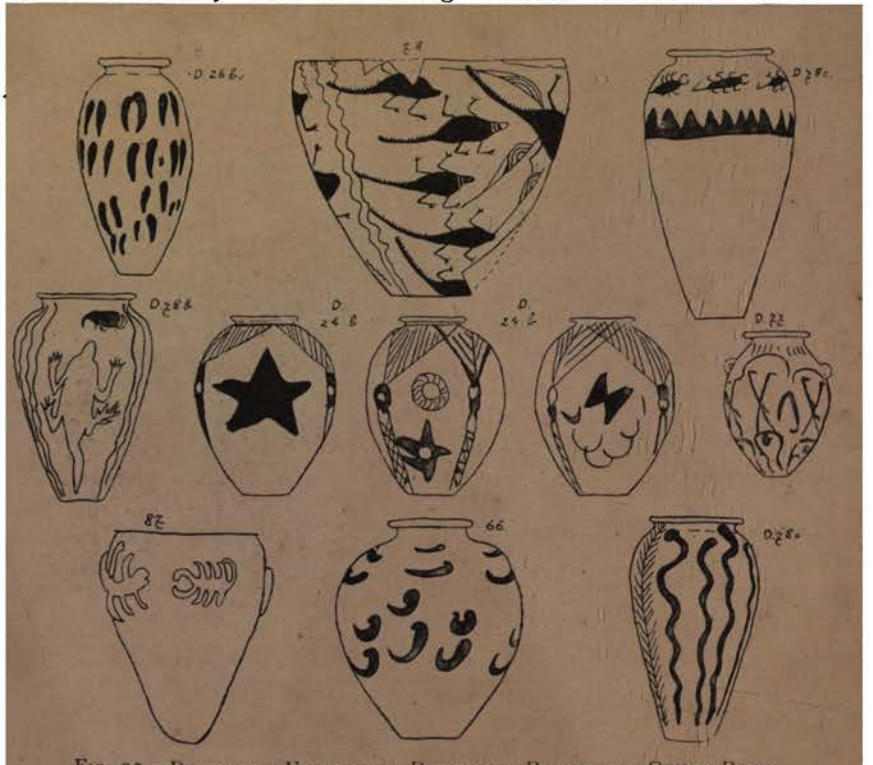


FIG. 97.—DECORATED VASES WITH DESIGNS IN RELIEF AND OTHER RARE ORNAMENTATIONS.

on two other vases from Hú (tombs U 179 and B 101), which, according to sequence dating, are more recent than the Naqada specimen, and show as decoration two ornaments in relief, consisting simply of a circular knob, from which a line rises to the top of the vase. It is thus an exact copy of the legs of the figure on the vase first described. I think, as a consequence of frequent copying, the meaning of the lines was lost, and, more

especially in the Hû specimens, it was not known that they had any connection with the human figure. Thus the ornament resembles two serpents facing each other, and I should not be surprised if the primitive artist had that idea when he made the vase.[1]

A vase in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, discovered at Naqada (tomb 1,871, sequence date 46) introduces us to a very rare scheme of decoration. The vase itself is red, with the blackened upper edge. The interior is also blackened, as is usual

Fig. 98.—Black-topped Pottery with Figures in Relief.

with these vases; but there is besides, roughly cut in the clay previous to baking, a number of crude designs, which probably represent serpents and plants (Fig. 99). It may possibly have figured as a magic vase (?). What is certain is that, with the exception of two small fragments, of identical technique, in the same museum, there is no piece in existence—at least, to my knowledge—at all comparable with this.[2]

[1] The vase to the left is figured, without description in the text, by Petrie, *Diospolis*, pl. xiv. 66.

[2] See Petrie, *Naqada*, pl. xxxv. 71. A vase in the British Museum, decorated inside with fantastic signs, is apparently only a modern fraud.

A certain number of vases of rough-faced pottery are decoratcd with incised lines, but this mode of ornamentation appears to have been employed only rarely [1] (Fig. 100, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

Such are the various classes of ornamentation with which archaic Egyptian pottery was decorated. So far as they can be cursorily summed up, they are all either skeuomorphic, or else derived directly from some natural object—mountain, plant, animal, man, etc. It is an excellent proof in support of the theories

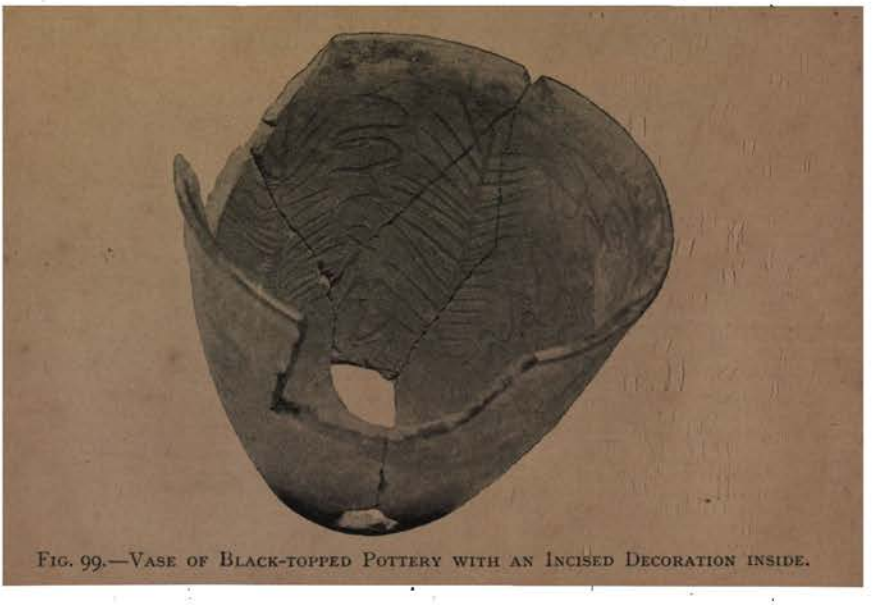


FIG. 99.—VASE OF BLACK-TOPPED POTTERY WITH AN INCISED DECORATION INSIDE.

propounded at the commencement of this chapter; and on which it is not necessary to insist further.

We must now rapidly review the pieces of pottery to which the primitive artist has attempted to give either a human or an animal form.[2]

An extremely curious vase, of brilliant black glaze, found in

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 41, and pl. xxxv. 74, 76; xxxvi. 93*a* and *b*; xxxvii. 41. *Diospolis*, pl. xvi. 74*b* and 93*c*; xvii. 49. In our figure the upper vase = *Diospolis*, xvi. 74*b*; below, beginning at the left,—1 = *Naqada*, xxxvi. 93*b* (smoke-blacked brown pottery): 2 = *Diospolis*, xvi. 93*c* (Hû, U 126); 3 (Hû, B 158); 4 = *Diospolis*, xvii. 49 (Hû, U 170).

[2] I reserve for the chapter on sculpture some vases in stone and clay representing human figures where the "vase" disappears before the sculptured figure.

Dr. Petrie's excavations at Abadiyeh, was discovered in a tomb of the first half of the prehistoric period (sequence dates 33-41). The primitive artist has endeavoured to give to the vase a female form, and he has succeeded in making a figure which does not differ greatly from the clay female statuettes of the same period, which we will consider later, and of which we have already given specimens as illustrating clothing and personal adornment. A mere pinch in the clay serves to indicate the nose, the ears, and

FIG. 100.—ROUGH-FACED POTTERY WITH INCISED DECORATIONS.

shoulders; the breasts are summarily formed and pendant, as they are with negresses. Finally, the vase swells out suddenly behind, attempting to portray the extraordinary development of the buttocks (steatopygy), which is also seen on the statuettes[1] (Fig. 101).

Another vase of human form must be mentioned which appears to represent a captive crouching on the ground in a most uncomfortable attitude. The primitive artist has only attempted to render the head with fidelity.[2]

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. B 102. [2] *Ib.* pl. vi. B 83.

The same excavations at Hû-Abadiyeh also effected the discovery of two vases in the form of hippopotami. In one, care has been taken to render the form of the animal as accurately as possible; in the other the design is very summary, and decorated with two lateral handles[1] (Fig. 102). The same is the case with a vase in the form of a hippopotamus, now in the museum at Cairo, which was published by Von Bissing some years ago.[2]

FIG. 101.—BLACK POLISHED VASE IN FORM OF A WOMAN.

The special interest of this last piece lies in the paintings which have been added by the primitive artist. Herr von Bissing speaks thus of it: "The hippopotami of the Middle Empire are decorated, as Maspero remarks, with reeds, lotus, and butterflies, because they live in the midst of reeds, where butterflies are flitting round them. In the same way the artist could decorate the two sides of the hippopotamus-shaped vase with the long series of marsh birds, with their long necks and large feet, characteristic of the most ancient Egyptian art, because they actually saw the hippopotamus in nature surrounded by such birds. Another explanation must be found for the harpoons, which are in groups of two or three upon the handles, under the lip, the head, and the tail. Apparently it was desired to show the hippopotamus hunted and taken by harpoons."[3]

These very apt remarks are interesting, and we shall again

[1] PETRIE, *ib.* pl. vi. R 134, and pl. xiv. 67. On the latter specimen traces of painting may still be seen, notably harpoons painted under the body of the animal.

[2] FR. W. v. BISSING, *Altägyptische Gefässe im Museum zu Gise*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvi. 1898, pp. 123-125.

[3] We have already remarked the same detail in a representation of crocodiles.

have occasion to refer to them. Herr von Bissing notes at the same time the frequent occurrence of vases of animal forms in primitive Egyptian art, as in the art of all primitive people. Among these vases of ancient Egypt are some shaped as fish,[1] and others more numerous in bird form[2] (Fig. 102). Occasionally the vase represents two birds side by side[3] (Fig. 102). The Petrie Collection, University College, London, contains a certain number

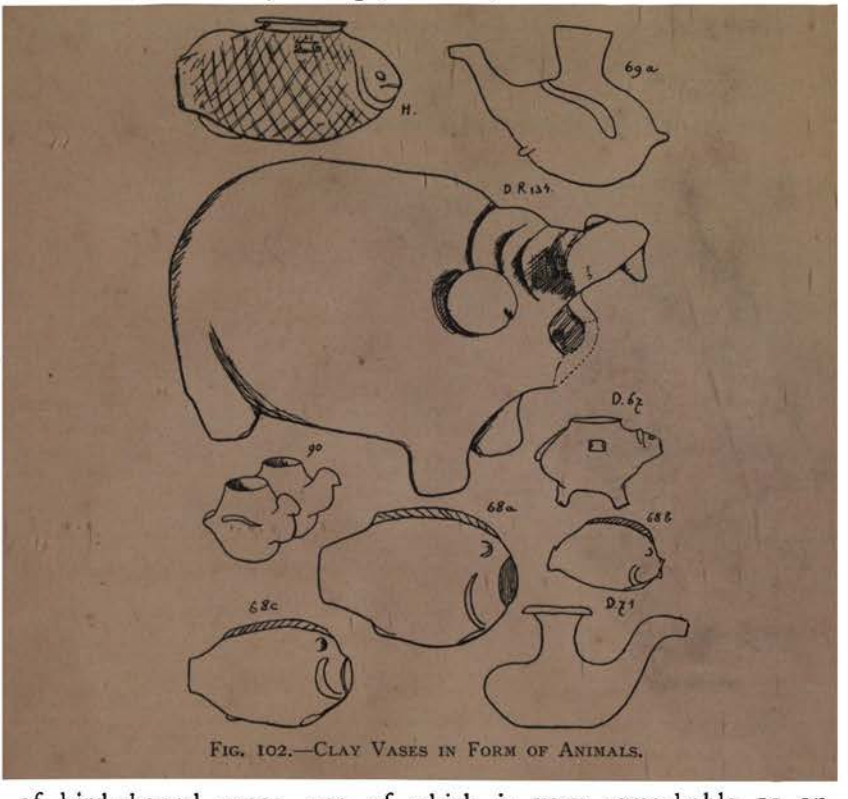


FIG. 102.—CLAY VASES IN FORM OF ANIMALS.

of bird-shaped vases, one of which is very remarkable as an attempt at representing a vulture[4] (Figs. 103 and 104).

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxvii. 68 *a-c*, and p. 37. QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxvi. and p. 50.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxvii. 69 *a-c*. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, i. p. 160, fig. 481.

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxvi. 90.

[4] "I am inclined to connect this bird (with mouth on top and spout in front) with the bird vase said to be used by the Ansairiyeh in Syria, called *Taus* (the peacock) from which they receive sacramental wine in their secret rites."—Note by Professor Petrie.

FIG. 103.—CLAY VASES IN FORM OF BIRDS.
University College, London.

Here, again, the copy differs widely from the model, and it is only by the aid of the intermediate forms that we can realize what it is the primitive artist wished to represent.[1]

In some tombs small rectangular pottery boxes have been discovered, which are decorated on the outside in the same

FIG. 104.—CLAY VASE IN FORM OF A VULTURE.

manner as the vases. One of these boxes from Diospolis shows a row of triangles in imitation of mountains, and also rows of parallel lines, which slope in alternate directions from one row to the next[2] (Fig. 105, D 73).

Another specimen belonging to the British Museum is decorated

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. vi. R 131; xix. 71.
[2] *Ib.* pl. xvi. 73.

with boats, ibex, groups of parallel lines, and with S-shaped signs[1] (Fig. 105).

There is a cover of a similar box in the Petrie Collection, University College, London. Before baking the clay, the primitive workmen engraved on the cover an ostrich, a scorpion, and two human figures, one of the most ancient representations of this class that we know.[2]

Finally, Mr. MacIver, in the El Amrah excavations, dis-

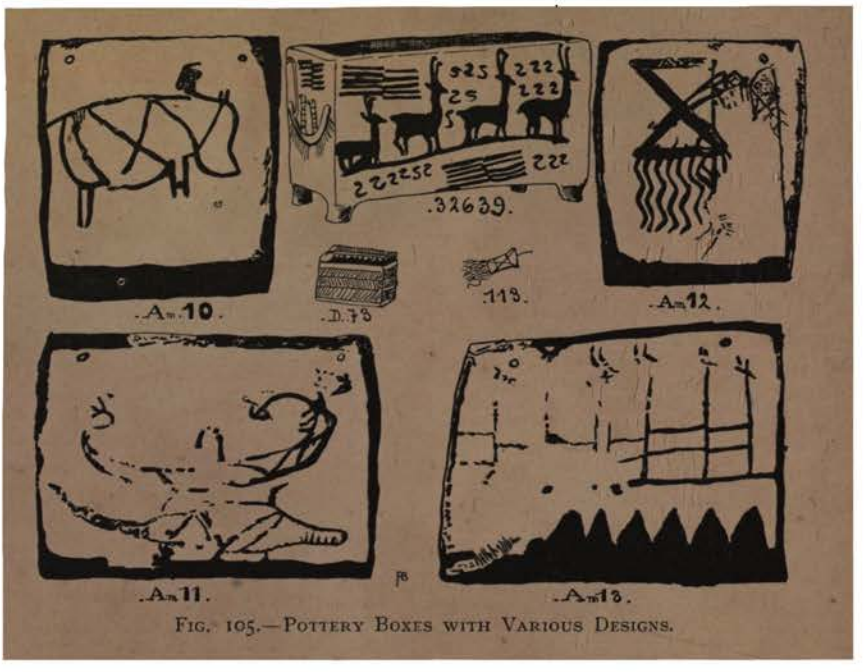


FIG. 105.—POTTERY BOXES WITH VARIOUS DESIGNS.

covered a box of the same kind, on which different scenes were drawn in charcoal. On one of the sides appears a hippopotamus, on the second a boat, beneath which is a crocodile. The third side is at present inexplicable,[3] while with regard to the fourth, various interpretations are attempted. Mr. MacIver sees in it a series of six animals with long necks (probably

[1] BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 98, fig. British Museum, No. 32,639.

[2] PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Figures*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 14, p. 17 and pl. B, 22.

[3] See PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. liii. 113, where a pottery mark is given similar to the design on this side (Fig. 105).

giraffes) proceeding towards the right; their bodies, he remarks, are drawn diagrammatically, and resemble palings. Below these is a row of triangles.[1] The drawings of the period, greatly simplified as they are, have not accustomed us to such extremely diagrammatic representations of animals. I consider it as more probably a palisade, of which the upper part of the posts are decorated with bucrania. It has been proved on several occasions that at this period animals' skulls were employed not only for decoration, but also for magical or religious purposes[2] (Fig. 105).

We have now arrived at the close of our examination of decorative pottery of the primitive era. There is another series of designs which we must mention in this connection, although they can scarcely be considered as a form of decoration; these are the marks and signs engraved on the pottery, the study of which is of primary importance. As, however, this subject would lead us to treat of questions somewhat outside the domain of decorative art, it will be preferable to reserve it for the end of the chapter, when we have finished our examination of decorated objects of the primitive period.

The furniture of the primitive Egyptians, as may easily be imagined, was extremely rudimentary. The materials employed for this purpose, less resistant than ivory or pottery, have been almost or quite destroyed by the action of time. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that we have but little information on this subject. We must wait for the commencement of the historic period to find precise indications.

We can, however, mention several objects brought to light by recent excavations, and first the fire-places of the primitive houses, of which Professor Petrie discovered several examples in the small prehistoric town which lay close round the earliest temple of Osiris at Abydos. These fire-places closely resemble pottery cisterns. Charcoal was burnt in them, and cinders were found in one of them.

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xii. 10-13, and p. 42. This decorated box is now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[2] CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, in the *Revue d'histoire des religions*, xliii. 1901, pp. 252, 253.

They all have designs in imitation of plaited work incised in the pottery on the flat rims. Two specimens are specially remarkable. The design represents a serpent, whose head projects inside the rim so that the creature appears to be hanging over the fire. The decorator, remarks Professor Petrie, has combined the agathodemon, the domestic fetish of prehistoric times, with the hearth-place[1] (Fig. 106).

We have already spoken of fragments of furniture with plaited work attached, found in the royal tombs. The excavations of M. de Morgan at Naqada, of Messrs. Amelineau and Petrie at

FIG. 106.—CLAY FIRE-PLACES DECORATED WITH DESIGNS IN IMITATION OF PLAITED WORK.

Abydos, and of Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis, have unfortunately only produced fragments of small importance, which give a very vague idea of furniture in the primitive age. All that has been found are parts of small coffers, or of seats or low beds. They are, however, sufficient to show that the feet which supported these pieces of furniture were in the form of legs of bulls, and were treated in a manner which reminds Dr. Petrie of Italian *cinque cento* work, rather than of archaic efforts[2] (Fig. 107).

[1] PETRIE, *Excavations at Abydos, in Man*, 1902, No. 64, p. 89 and figs. 6-8. *Abydos*, i. pl. liii. 13-18, and p. 25.

[2] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. p. 27.

It is specially interesting to observe the pronounced taste of the decorators for inlaying. Small plaques in ivory, wood, and glazed pottery with incised lines are very numerous.[1]

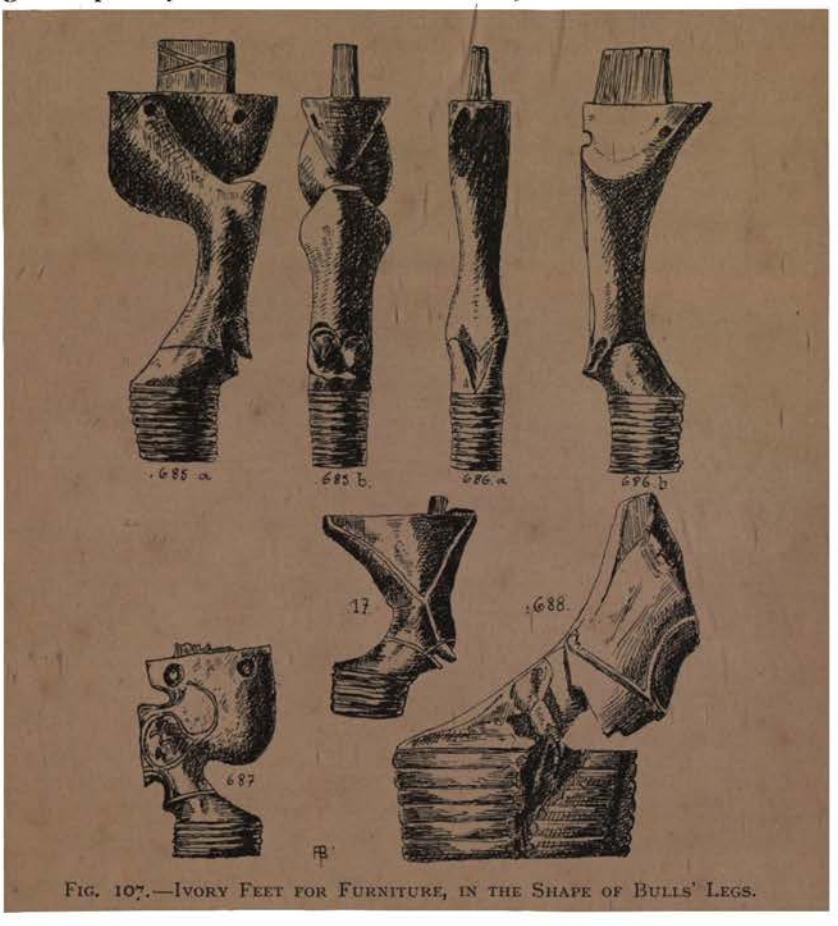


FIG. 107.—IVORY FEET FOR FURNITURE, IN THE SHAPE OF BULLS' LEGS.

The models which inspired the decorators are borrowed principally from matting, cords, and feathers. The human figure

[1] Petrie discovered at Abydos a large number of glazed pottery tiles which had served as a wall decoration. See PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. viii. and p. 26. This entails an entire revision of the opinions given in BORCHARDT, *Zur Geschichte der Pyramiden I. Thür aus der Stufenpyramide bei Sakkara, Berliner Museum*, No. 1185, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxx. 1892, pp. 83-87 and pl. i. WIEDEMANN, review of QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i., in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, iii. 1900, col. 331. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. p. 36.

is also used as a support, and already one finds kneeling captives supporting seats, as they are found later on during the historic period[1] (Fig. 14).

Certain ivory fragments found at Hierakonpolis are perhaps the arms of chairs; they are ornamented with figures of animals in the same style as those found on the handles of knives. The most remarkable of these is a fantastic animal with the neck lengthened out of all proportion. Occasionally a man, standing, seizes the neck of one of these animals with both hands, in an attitude which is specially familiar to us in Mycenæan and Chaldean art[2] (Figs. 108, 109).

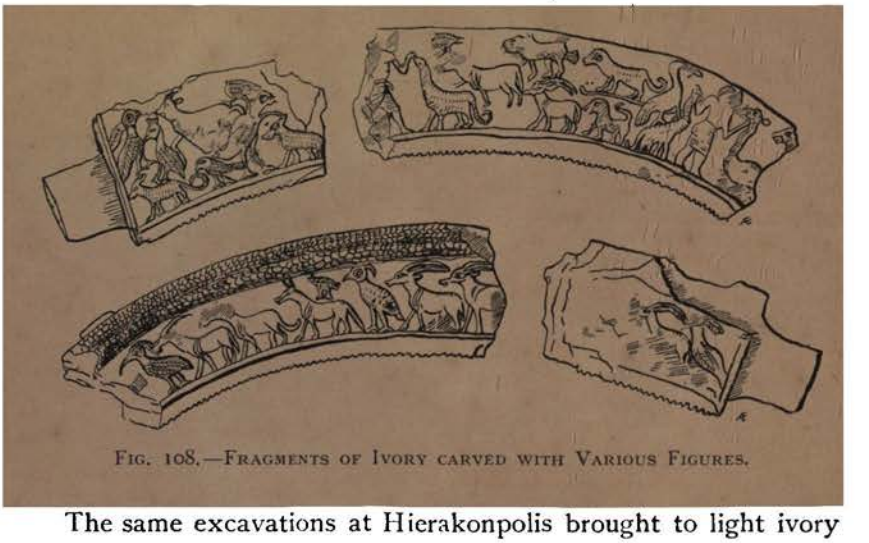


FIG. 108.—FRAGMENTS OF IVORY CARVED WITH VARIOUS FIGURES.

The same excavations at Hierakonpolis brought to light ivory cylinders decorated with figures of men and animals, treated in the same style. Judging by the sceptre discovered at Abydos,[3] they might be considered as fragments of a sceptre. One of these cylinders in particular, which bears the name of King Nar-Mer, is interesting as a curious example of a pictographic and hieroglyphic

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xi. and p. 7; ii. p. 37.

[2] *Ib.* i. pl. xii.-xiv. xvi. xvii. xxxii.; fantastic animal, pl. xvi. 2 and xvii. EVANS, *The Mycenæan tree and pillar cult and its Mediterranean relations, with illustrations from recent Cretan finds*, London, 1901 (reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*), p. 65 *et seq.*, and figs. 43-45. We shall later have occasion to return to this point.

[3] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. ix. 1.

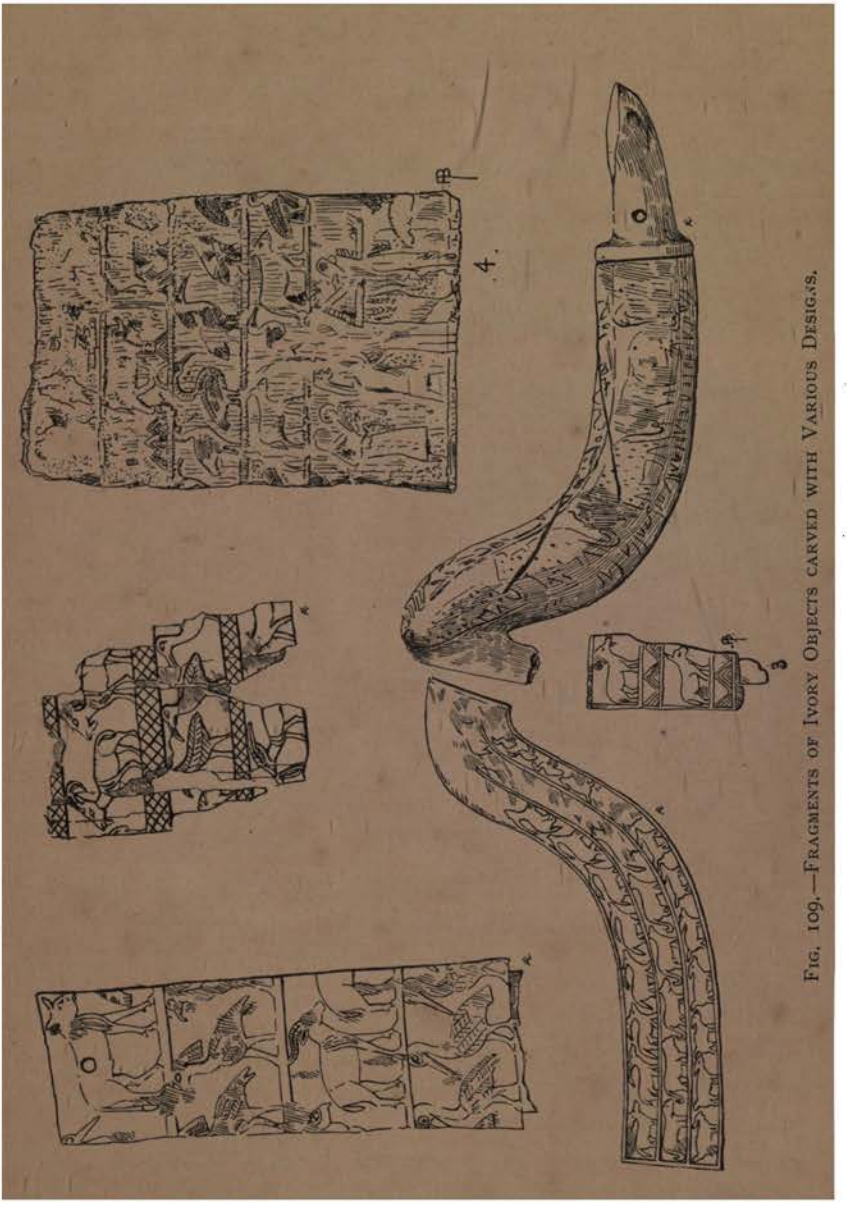


FIG. 109.—FRAGMENTS OF IVORY OBJECTS CARVED WITH VARIOUS DESIGNS.

inscription similar to that engraved on a slate plaque in the Cairo Museum, of which we shall speak later on[1] (Fig., 110).

When we recall the various types of decoration that we have had occasion to pass in review, there is one which appears to be more especially striking. The primitive Egyptians were accurate observers of nature; men, plants, and animals almost exclusively supplied them with models. We have rarely met with what

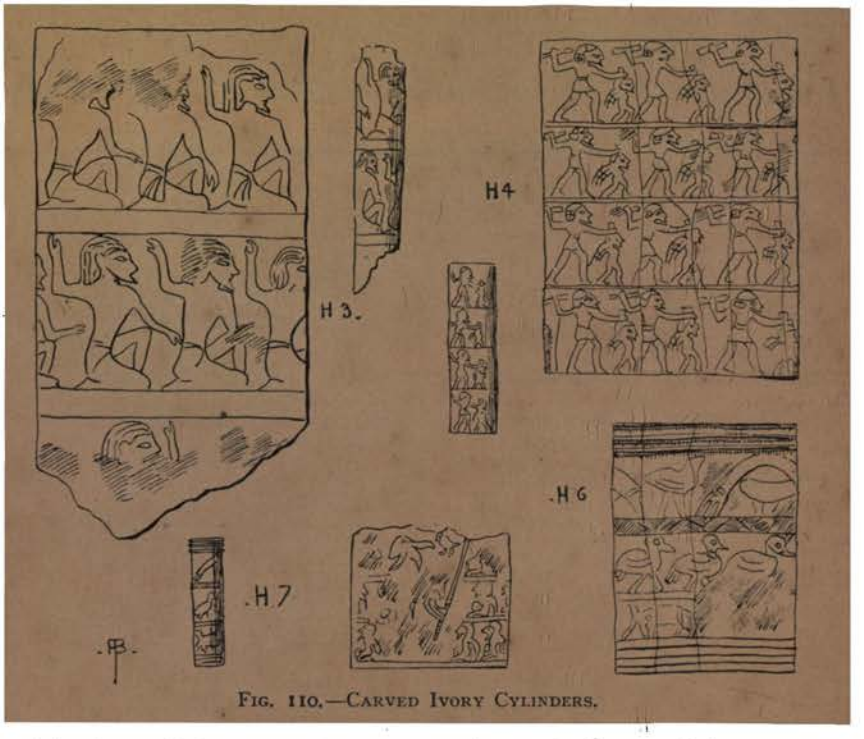


FIG. 110.—CARVED IVORY CYLINDERS.

might be called geometric patterns beyond those which sprang spontaneously from the imitation of materials employed by primitive industries, especially from basket work and matting. In fact decorative genius, as distinguished from a fancy for decoration, appears to have been absent among the primitive Egyptians. It must be admitted that they achieved very mediocre results from the natural models they copied. This mediocrity is especially flagrant in the "decorated pottery," and one may even ask oneself if

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xv. 7, inscription of Nar-Mer.

the primitive man who traced on the clay those representations of boats, birds, plants, gazelles, and men, really wished to decorate the vase, or whether they had not some other object in view. Art for the sake of art is, I believe, an exception among primitive people, and a purpose which is truly æsthetic can only very rarely be found among them. The study we shall devote to the paintings of the tomb at Hierakonpolis will, I believe, partly enable us to elucidate this point, which is of great importance for the just appreciation of the decorative art of the primitive Egyptians. The period of the Ancient Egyptian Empire does not differ very greatly in this respect from the primitive age, and on this point also it is difficult to find any radical modification between the two periods. There is nothing, I think, which should prevent our seeing in the art of the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties the natural outcome of the gradual development of ideas which were first evolved by their distant predecessors of primitive times. I hope to show in due course that the decorations of walls of mastabas of the Ancient Empire are no other than the development of the ideas which the primitive Egyptians expressed in adorning their pottery with painted figures. Besides scenes and designs borrowed directly from nature, these tombs merely show us imitations of hard stones, of plaiting and weaving, or even of the graining of wood.[1]

To return to those marks found on pottery, which can scarcely be regarded as decoration. The motives for inscribing these incised lines seem to have been various, although at the present day it is impossible always to determine them with certainty. Professor Petrie has recognized that in some instances they appear to have been a mark of property, various pieces of pottery in one tomb bearing the same mark.[2] Frequently, I think, they should be considered as a kind of signature placed by the potter upon the vases which issued from his hands. Dr. Petrie has remarked to me that all these marks were inscribed after the baking of the vase. It should be observed that there

[1] PETRIE, *Egyptian Decorative Art*, pp. 44, 89, and chap. iv. *Structural decoration.*

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 44.

are two classes of pottery on which they are commonly found—the black-topped and the red polished. On the other pottery we have studied, the cross-lined and the decorated, they do not occur.[1]

If we follow Petrie in classifying these marks under different headings, the results we shall gather are as follows[2] (Fig. 111).

The human figure rarely appears.[3] In one instance an animal, which is difficult to identify, is apparently devouring the head of a man, a group which recalls the mythological *Mahes*.[4] Figures of animals occur more frequently, and with one exception they differ little in style from those painted on vases, and perhaps resemble most closely those on the cross-lined pottery. The most usual types are the elephant, hippopotamus, various kinds of antelope, and possibly the giraffe.[5]

Birds are less frequent, and the species represented are not easily identifiable; one recognizes, however, the bird with long feet, and with the neck curved into an S, which frequently occurs on the decorated pottery.[6] Crocodiles and serpents are often found.[7] Floral designs are limited to summary sketches of the palm-tree and of various kinds of vegetation not easy to determine.[8] Boats, while they are rare, are not entirely

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 44.

[2] The marks D 20 are from a slate palette which Petrie has omitted to describe in *Diospolis*. The original is in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and is reproduced earlier in the book in dealing with palettes with incised ornamentation.

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. li. 1, 2, 7.

[4] According to PLEYTE, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*, i. p. 41, "Ce n'est pas qu'après la xx^{e}. dynastie que le titre ou nom de Mahes devient un nom de dieu." I believe the representations of this god to be rare. I will quote Naos D 29 at the Louvre (PIERRET, *Panthéon égyptien*, fig. on p. 79), a whip handle at the Leyden Museum, i. 77 (LEEMANS, *Monuments*, ii. pl. lxxxiv.), and a magical boomerang at University College, London, of the twelfth dynasty.

[5] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. li. 7-27; *Diospolis*, pl. xx 13-29. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xvii. 19-24. NEWBERRY, *Extracts from my Notebooks*, v. No. 37, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xxiv. 1902, p. 251 and pl. i. 5.

[6] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. li. 28-32; *Diospolis*, pl. xx. 30-35, xxi, 51.

[7] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. li. 33-38; *Diospolis*, pl. xxi. 36-43.

[8] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lii. 52-69; *Diospolis*, pl. xxi. 53-72. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xvii. 25-29.

absent, but they only recall very vaguely those that we know on the decorated pottery.[1]

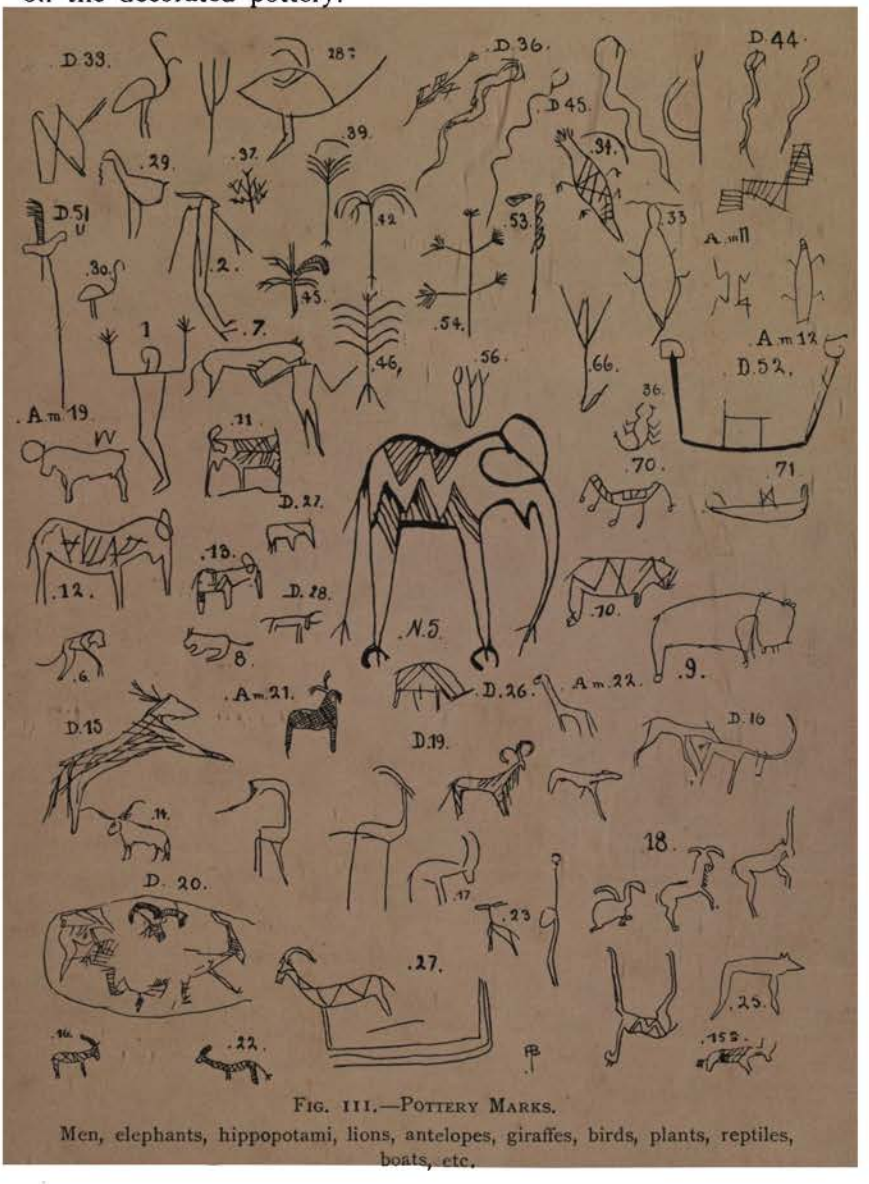


FIG. III.—POTTERY MARKS.
Men, elephants, hippopotami, lions, antelopes, giraffes, birds, plants, reptiles, boats, etc.

These are almost the only representations which it is possible

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lii. 70, 71 ; *Diospolis*, pl. xxi. 52.

to recognize at a first glance. Before continuing our examination of these marks, we should therefore ask ourselves a question of some importance.

Among those figures which are easy of identification, do we meet with signs that we could designate as "hieroglyphs"? In other words, ought we to consider hieroglyphic writing as an importation brought by conquerors from Asia, from Upper Nubia, or from some other region; or is it possible to discover anything on these objects belonging to the primitive Egyptians that suggests that they employed a method of writing of which the later hieroglyphs are but a development?

We must recall some remarks of Von Bissing on the subject of the African origin of hieroglyphs.

"Hieroglyphic writing," he says, "in my opinion presents a character which is entirely Egyptian. A fairly large number of extremely ancient signs are drawn from plants and animals. The papyrus is assuredly an Egyptian plant. Now a group which occurs frequently with the meaning of *verdant* represents the stem and flower of this plant. It is also the standard of Lower Egypt and the sign for the north. As to the lotus, it occurs so often that the sign for *thousand* in Egyptian is actually the stem of the *Nymphœa cerulea*, with a leaf floating on the water. The flowers of *Nymphœa* on a basin is the earliest form of the letter S where the papyrus enters later. I do not know that the *Nymphœa cerulea* and the *Nymphœa lotus* are natives of Asia, and it is precisely these plants, as proved by Messrs. Borchardt and Griffith, which one meets with from the earliest times in Egypt, while the *Nymphœa nelumbo*, which probably comes from Asia, is not found except on the monuments of the late period.

"With regard to animals, the result is the same. Above all, the crocodile and the hippopotamus, which one could not separate from the archaic civilization and from the earliest mythological conceptions of the Egyptians, do not exist in Asia (the Indian species differ considerably from the African specimens figured on the monuments). The eagle, which is in reality a black vulture, the bald-headed vulture (sacred bird

of the goddess Mut), the sparrow-hawk (which should be termed a falcon), the owl, and, above all, the ibis, offer types which are absolutely African, or, at least, are in no way characteristic of Asia.

"It is the same with the different animals, such as the jackal, symbol of various gods of the dead (I am told that it is more nearly a fox), the gazelles (among others the *Oryx leukoryx*, which is unknown in Asia), even the elephant, which presents the African type, the hyæna, and many others. If we come to snakes, insects, and fish—among all these we find species known as existing in Egypt at that period: the *uræus*, scarab, scorpion, and various fish that one sees in the hieroglyphs and meets with again in the mural decorations of the Ancient Empire. Naturally the Egyptians must have long been acquainted with a large number of the animals here mentioned before they learnt to attribute to them the conventional meaning they received. How many times did they see the hippopotamus thrust his head out of the water to breathe in air, before finding in the head of the animal appearing above the water a graphic expression for that which we call a *minute*? For a long time the ancient Egyptian must have watched the beetle making his mud balls, before seeing in him the symbol of perpetual creation, the formation of the egg. If it were possible that the hippopotamus, strictly speaking, had struck the new arrivals at their first entry into Egypt, and had suggested to them the very strange idea of symbolizing an instant, it cannot at any rate have been the case with the beetle. In any case, the Egyptians before entering Egypt could have had no word for *an instant* or *to become*, as the very words which designate these ideas are native to Egypt."[1]

Basing his argument partly on these considerations and partly on the pottery marks, and the graffiti of which we shall speak presently, M. Zaborowski came to the conclusion that

[1] F. von Bissing, *Les origines de l'Égypte*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, pp. 409-411. In these last lines there appears to me to be a confusion, which I am convinced the author would not make at the present time. See Erman, *Aegyptische Grammatik*, 2nd ed. Berlin, 1902, § 36, p. 17.

the origin of hieroglyphic writing should in reality be sought for in the graffiti.[1]

At first sight these conclusions are extremely attractive, and it seems rational to evolve the classical hieroglyphs from a system of elementary pictography. This evolution, according to Von Bissing, being effected in Egypt, the deductions of M. Zaborowski appear to be absolutely correct. On looking more closely into the question, however, it does not appear to me to be a certainty.

The inscriptions of the first dynasty have not the appearance of hieroglyphs in course of formation. The concordance of the sequence dating with the dates of the kings of the Ancient Empire, as Dr. Petrie has established them from the results of his excavations in the *temenos* of Osiris at Abydos, leaves little hope at present of discovering any hieroglyphs that could form a link between the pottery marks, the graffiti, and the classical hieroglyphs. We may ask, however, whether there is not a chance that excavations may some day lead to the discovery of some relics of those "worshippers of Horus," whose real significance Professor Sethe has recently been able to solve.[2]

The pottery marks we have already mentioned include few hieroglyphs. There is a sign representing the plant of the south,[3] and another which is nothing else than the crown of Lower Egypt,[4] the crown of the goddess Neith, which, being of Libyan origin, as we have mentioned previously, might very well have been introduced as a pictographic sign into a system of writing which was already constituted.

I will also refer to the sign engraved on a slate palette, the sign of the god Min, which occurs rather frequently among these pottery marks.[5] This could only have become a hieroglyphic

[1] ZABOROWSKI, *Origines africaines de la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte*, in the *Revue scientifique*, 4th series, xi., March 11th, 1899, pp. 293, 394.

[2] SETHE, *Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Aegyptens* (*Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Alterthumskunde Aegyptens*, herausgegeben von Kurt Sethe, iii. 1), pp. 3-21: die "*Horusdiener*."

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lii. 74.

[4] *Ib.* pl. lii. 75.

[5] *Ib.* pl. liii. 117-122; *Diospolis*, pl. xxi. 67, 69, 73-79.

sign by the adoption of an indigenous god by the conquering population. It also seems possible to recognize the sign , which would confirm the interpretation which I gave of it some years ago (Fig. 112).[1]

Another sign which is found on the pottery, where it is not possible to explain it,[2] is found apparently on an interesting inscription discovered in the tomb of King Den of the first dynasty, where also it has so far proved inexplicable[3] (Fig. 112, No. 78).

These indications are very faint, and do not warrant any serious conclusions. I believe, until fresh evidence is obtained,

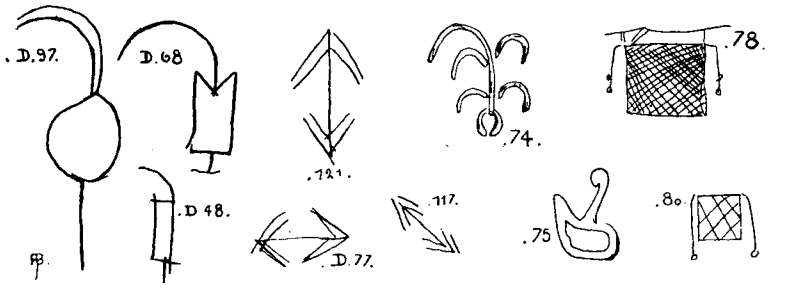


FIG. 112.—HIEROGLYPHIC (?) SIGNS OF THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD.

we cannot assert that the ancient Egyptians were in possession of any system of hieroglyphic writing.

Were they in possession of any other kind of writing? One of the greatest surprises of the later discoveries has been to perceive the possibility of their having employed *alphabetiform* characters.[4] It is precisely these characters that have been discovered among the pottery marks, and it is with these that we must now deal.

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. xxi. 48, 68, 97. CAPART, *Note sur la décapitation en Égypte*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvi. 1898, pp. 125, 126.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lii. p. 78 *et seq.*

[3] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. pl. x. 11, and pl. xvi. 20; ii. pl. xxvi. 59, and xxvii. 102. See EVANS, ARTHUR J., *Further discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script with Libyan and Proto-Egyptian Comparisons*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii. 1897, p. 378.

[4] I must apologize for this barbaric term, which in my eyes possesses the advantage of not prejudicing the question of the value of the signs.

In the course of the excavations at Naqada Professor Petrie found a certain number of marks of geometrical forms, and he states that "few of them are striking, or like any definite alphabetical series; nor are any to be found in sequence to suggest that constant ideas were attached to them."[1]

But the excavations in the royal tombs of Abydos have supplied new materials for the study of this question, and the researches of Mr. Evans among the Cretan pictographs and the linear systems of the Creto-Aegean world prepared the way for the conclusions that Petrie has drawn from them.

The examination of this question would lead us far from our subject, and I must content myself with a few summary indications, and with referring the reader to works where he will find more complete information.[2]

Dr. Petrie noted on the pottery of the royal tombs of the first dynasty a series of marks which showed themselves identical with the alphabetiform marks of the prehistoric vases. At the same time he confirmed what Mr. Evans had already observed—that is to say, the identity of the Creto-Aegean linear alphabets with the pottery marks discovered in Egypt at Kahun and Gurob, on vases of the twelfth and eighteenth Egyptian dynasties. This time a step in advance was taken in showing that the tabulated marks of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties correspond exactly with the marks of the royal tombs of the first dynasty and of the prehistoric pottery. Finally, the primitive alphabets of Karia and Spain present a series of identical signs. If the table drawn up by Petrie[3] is examined, it is seen that

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, i. p. 44, pl. liii. *et seq.*; *Diospolis*, pl. xxi.-xxiii. See also some marks in MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xvii.

[2] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. pp. 31, 32. EVANS, *Primitive Pictographs and a Pre-Phœnician Script from Crete*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiv. 1894, p. 270 *et seq.*, and London, Quaritch, 1895; *Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script, with Libyan and Proto-Egyptian Comparisons*, *ib.* xvii. 1897, pp. 327-395, and London, Quaritch, 1898. SERGI, *The Mediterranean Race: A Study of the Origin of European People*, London, 1901, pp. 296-305, and figs. 79-93.

[3] The sources whence this table was derived are as follows, from information kindly supplied by Dr. Petrie. PETRIE, *Naqada*; *Royal Tombs*, i.; *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London, 1890. SAYCE, *The Karian Language and Inscriptions*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, ix. 1887, pp. 112-154. BOUDARD, P. A., *Essai sur la numismatique ibérienne*, Paris, 1859.

few of the signs are missing from any one of the series, and that the signs which are found in all rarely present variants which differ seriously from the most ancient signs (Fig. 113).

It must, therefore, have been a system of signs which was well established from the first, and that underwent few modifications in the course of ages. It may even with some probability be compared with the Libyan signs, and with *tifinagh*, which are still employed in the present day in the writing of the Touaregs. The conclusion that may be drawn from these

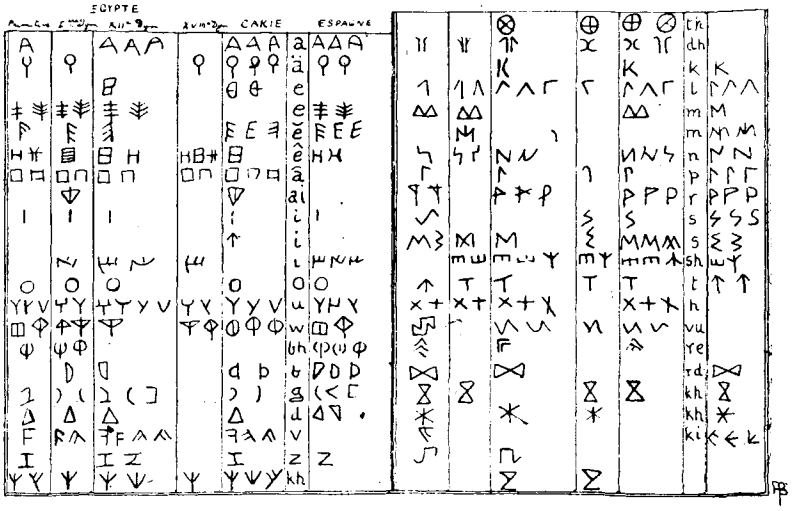


FIG. 113.—TABLE OF "ALPHABETIFORM" SIGNS.
From Petrie.

researches has already been foreseen by M. Berger in his recent *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité*.[1] A system of writing, or at least of marks in universal use, must have existed from prehistoric times over the whole of the Mediterranean basin. Where was the centre of dispersion of this system; what people propagated it? These are difficult questions to answer, and the solution will probably only be obtained in the distant future. The relation of these marks with more recent alphabets seems to be undeniable, and with Petrie we ask ourselves what becomes of the Phœnician legend of the origin of the alphabet.

[1] BERGER, *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1891, pp. 324, 332.

Here is Dr. Petrie's reply: "Certainly the so-called Phœnician letters were familiar long before the rise of Phœnician influence. What is really due to the Phœnicians seems to have been the selection of a short series (only half the amount of the surviving alphabets) for numerical purposes, as A = 1, E = 5, I = 10, N = 50, P = 100, Φ = 500, etc. This usage would soon render these signs as invariable in order as our own numbers, and force the use of them on all countries with which the Phœnicians traded. Hence before long these signs drove out of use all others, except in the less changed civilizations of Asia Minor and Spain."[1] M. Weill, in a recent article in the *Revue archéologique*,[2] contested these results, but I must confess that his arguments have in no way convinced me. I do not think it possible for any one to say, as the result of his demonstration, as he himself says, that "of Dr. Petrie's table and deductions not one word nor one fact is left standing." It seems to me that he has lost sight of one point of primary importance; it is the presence of "alphabetiform" signs on prehistoric pottery from the commencement of the primitive period. If we must admit, as he wishes, that the linear signs are merely a degradation of the hieroglyph signs, it would also be necessary to believe that, previous to the earliest known remains, a hieroglyphic system was in existence which had been long enough in use for the signs to develop a linear form. Of these only a very small number had been retained (thirty-three in Petrie's table), which must have been propagated in the Mediterranean world in so strange a manner as to render it possible, after several thousands of years, to compare them with the identical signs (to the number of thirty) discovered on the primitive remains in Spain. Up to the present time we have failed to recover those hieroglyphs which have left only very doubtful traces on prehistoric remains, and the criticisms of M. Weill, who, I think, has not faced that side of the question, do not seem to me in any way to have touched Petrie's tables and deductions.

[1] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. p. 32.

[2] WEILL, R., *La question de l'écriture linéaire dans la Méditerranée primitive*, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1903, i. pp. 213-232.

Now, how can we explain the fact that these "alphabetiform" signs are found in Egypt at the prehistoric age, and under the first, the twelfth, and the eighteenth dynasties? I think there are two hypotheses which should be considered. At these different periods Egypt may have been in touch with the country where this system originated, or else the Egyptians from primitive times may have preserved the knowledge of this system in addition to their hieroglyphic writing.

We have already remarked on the analogies with the Libyans presented by the primitive Egyptians. We have mentioned the resemblances of their primitive alphabetical system with the Libyan alphabets, and also the relations between the Libyan and the Creto-Aegean peoples have several times been established. I do not think it is too bold to definitely attribute the appearance of these marks at different periods of Egyptian history to contact with the Aegean people, either directly or through the intermediary of the Libyans. These relations are indicated at the same time by the appearance of vases of a special type; this is the black incised pottery, with a whitish paste in the incisions; specimens of this pottery have been found in Spain and Bosnia, at Hissarlik, in Crete (Knossos), and in Sardinia, and when found in Egypt it is evidently an importation.[1] I believe also that to these relationships must be attributed the appearance in Egypt during the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties of small nude figures of women, which had disappeared from Egyptian art since primitive times. Again, one finds them reappearing in the eighteenth dynasty, and the phenomenon is interesting to note. The proof of the relations of Egypt with the Libyo-Aegean people during the first dynasty is easily found in the vases discovered by Dr. Petrie at Abydos, in the royal tombs, and in the temple of Osiris; during the twelfth dynasty, in the fact that at Knossos there are Egyptian remains of that period, and perhaps also in the appearance of "pan graves."[2]

[1] MacIver & Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, p. 43. Petrie, *Methods and Aims in Archæology*, London, 1904, fig. 61, pp. 160-162.

[2] The description of these will be found in Petrie, *Diospolis*, pp. 45-49; the term employed by Petrie, "pan graves," is merely an abbreviation of "pan-shaped graves."

The presence of these graves in the vicinity of Abydos, at the end of the route from the oases, indicates the direction which must have been taken after the twelfth dynasty by these people, whose Libyan character is so evident.[1] Foreign relations,

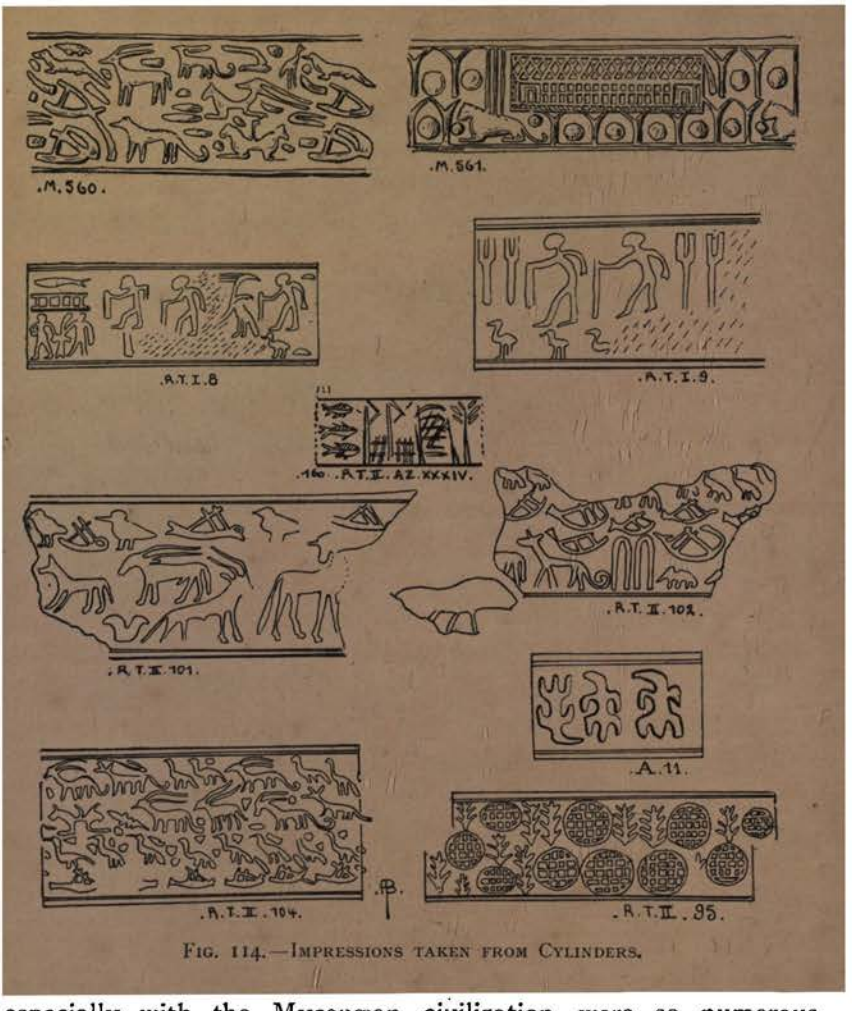


FIG. 114.—IMPRESSIONS TAKEN FROM CYLINDERS.

especially with the Mycenæan civilization, were so numerous during the eighteenth dynasty, that it is useless to insist on this point; we have already pointed out the Libyan influence under Amenophis IV.

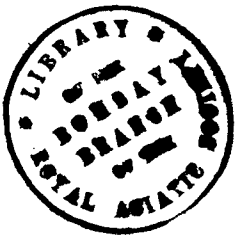
[1] MACIVER & MACE, *loc. cit.* pp. 67, 68.

As to the hypothesis of a continued use of "alphabetiform" signs in Egypt, it must, I think, be rejected, for the reasons pointed out by Mr. Mace in connection with the "pan graves," and the objects there discovered. He also establishes the fact that this incised black pottery we have just mentioned is—with the exception of one or two sporadic examples under the third dynasty—completely absent during the whole of the period which separates the prehistoric people from those of the pan graves.[1]

I must apologize for these reflections, of the unsubstantial nature of which I am fully aware. As I have discussed the primitive writings, I may be permitted in closing this chapter to refer to the cylinders, which make their appearance at the earliest period of the history of Egypt, only to disappear with considerable rapidity. Some of these, in addition to hieroglyphic inscriptions, present representations of personages and animals of so archaic a style as to connect them completely with the primitive art.[2] We thus return to our subject, from which in these last pages we have somewhat diverged (Fig. 114).

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *loc. cit.* p. 69.

[2] I wish specially to quote two ivory cylinders at Berlin, Nos. 15,337 and 15,338. SCHAEFER, *Neue Alterthumer der "new race" aus Negadah*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, p. 160, fig. 4. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. x. DE MORGAN, *Recherches*, ii. p. 169, fig. 560, and p. 170, fig. 561. PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. li. No. 11; *Royal Tombs*, i. pl. xix. 8, 9; ii. pl. xiii. 95; xiv. 101-104. MAX MÜLLER, *An archaic cylinder from Egypt*, in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, v. 1902, col. 90-92, and fig. DENNIS, *ib.* col. 210, 211. EVANS, *Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii. 1897, p. 362 *et seq.*


LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

CHAPTER IV.

SCULPTURE AND PAINTING.

WE have now arrived at the most difficult, and at the same time the most interesting, part of our study. Objects illustrating our subject become increasingly numerous, and will, perhaps, enable us to decide some points which hitherto have been left in uncertainty. One of our greatest difficulties here has been to establish the exact line of demarcation between remains of prehistoric times and those of the commencement of the Egyptian historical age. It has seemed to me advisable for the present not to attach too great importance to this distinction, and to reserve for the chapter devoted to the earliest Egyptian remains those objects only which can be classified with certainty, owing to their bearing an inscription or royal name. These specimens form a distinct nucleus, round which the various objects which are closely allied to them can be grouped.

To begin with, we will consider flints which have been shaped into the forms of animals. As early as 1890 an example representing a hippopotamus was discovered at Kahun. Professor Petrie is inclined to assign it to the twelfth dynasty[1]; but the whole group of similar finds induces me to consider it rather as being of the primitive period.

In the Petrie Collection, University College, London, there are several most interesting examples; a snake from Koptos,

[1] PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, London, 1890, p. 30 and pl. viii. 22; *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, 2nd ed. London, 1893, p. 127; *Prehistoric Egyptian Figures*, in *Man*, 1892, No. 14, p. 17 and pl. B, 20.

a dog (?), and also a bird represented in flight[1] (Fig. 115). The Berlin Museum possesses three remarkable specimens, in the form of an antelope (*bubalis*), a wild goat, and a wild Barbary sheep, which resemble in a most striking manner the figures of animals engraved on the vases (Figs. 116-118). M. Schweinfurth, who has recently published them, also compares them with the graffiti, which we shall consider later on.[2] At the British Museum there is an unpublished specimen in form of an antelope (No. 30,411), and also another in form of a bull's head[3] (No. 32,124).

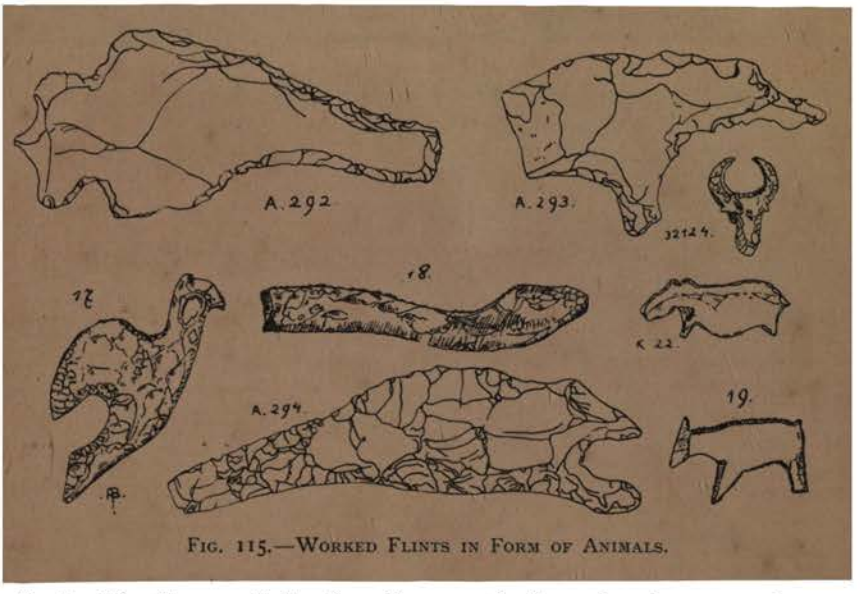


FIG. 115.—WORKED FLINTS IN FORM OF ANIMALS.

In the MacGregor Collection, Tamworth, there is a large specimen of the bull's head form, about 19 cm. in height. A few specimens have been found *in situ* among other remains of the primitive age. These are crocodiles and hippopotami (?), discovered in the small prehistoric town surrounding the temple of Osiris at Abydos.[4]

[1] PETRIE, *Prehistoric Egyptian Figures*, *loc. cit.* p. 17, pl. B, 17-19.

[2] SCHWEINFURTH, G., *Aegyptische Tierbilder als Kieselartefakte*, in *Die Umschau*, vii. 1903, pp. 804-806 and fig. French translation: *Figures d'animaux fabriques en silex et provenent de l'Égypte*, in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris*, xi. 1903, pp. 395-399, figs. 87-89.

[3] BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. fig. of p. 84, No. 32124.

[4] PETRIE, *Excavations at Abydos*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 64, p. 89, No. 3; *Abydos*, i. pl. xxvi. 292-294, and p. 12.

These curious pieces testify to a remarkable dexterity in flint working (Fig. 115). The only analogous pieces known in other countries have been discovered in Russia and America.[1]

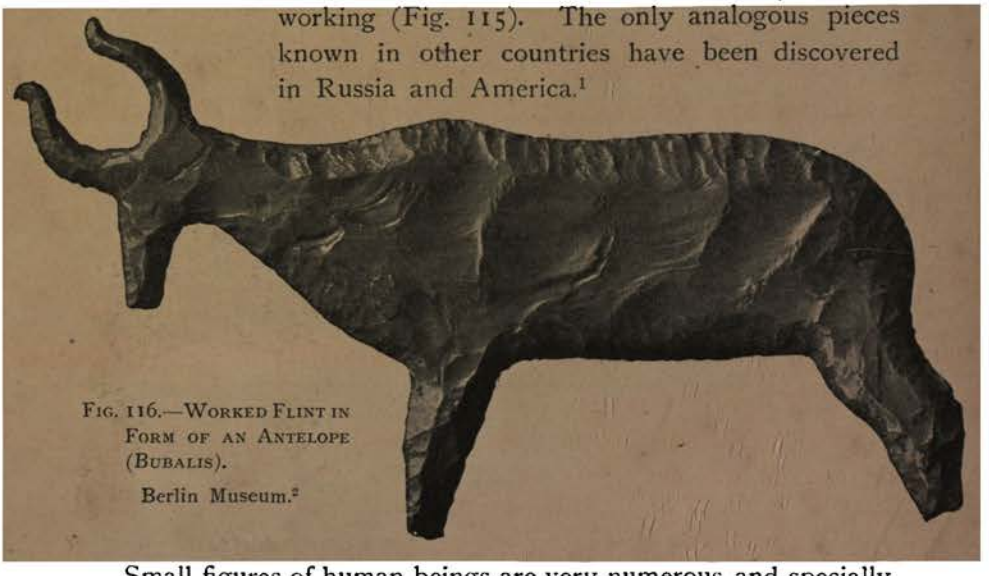
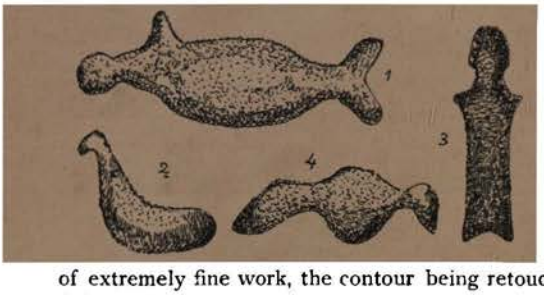


FIG. 116.—WORKED FLINT IN FORM OF AN ANTELOPE (BUBALIS).
Berlin Museum.[2]

Small figures of human beings are very numerous, and specially

[1] My colleague, Baron de Loë, keeper of the prehistoric antiquities of the Royal Museums of Brussels, has been good enough to communicate to me his notes on this subject. A flint in form of a fish comes from Archangel. Another, in form of a bird, from the Government of Vladimir. A specimen from the same neighbourhood perhaps represents a human figure. Several worked flints from the Volossovo bed, Government of Vladimir, present, he says, exceptional forms. Some show the outline of a boat; others the profiles of animals, more or less determined, among which a bird may be distinguished. . . . Volossovo was a centre of habitation in the neolithic age. . . . In the Government of Irkutsk a flint has been discovered, also of bird form. These specimens are all of extremely fine work, the contour being retouched with extraordinary delicacy. Other similar pieces have been discovered in the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, one representing a bird, another a serpent. See WILSON, TH., *Classification des pointes de flèches, des pointes des lances, et des couteaux de pierre*, in the *Compte rendu du Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*, twelfth session, at Paris, in 1900, Paris, 1903, pp. 320-322, and fig. 14.



[2] Reproduction after *Die Umschau*. Ubersicht über Fortschritte und Bewegungen auf dem Gesamtgebiet der Wissenschaft, Technick, Litteratur und Kunst. Francfurt a/Main, H. Bechhold, Verlag.

at the earliest period of Egyptian history; they are found in various materials—clay, stone, ivory, glazed pottery, and lead. I will remind the reader of the figures of men carved on the combs, and also of the pendants of human form of which illustrations have been given earlier in the book, and of which there is no need to speak further.

FIG. 117.—WORKED FLINT IN FORM OF A WILD GOAT. Berlin Museum.[2]

The statuettes of men are somewhat rare: not one specimen was found by Petrie in the vast necropolis of Naqada. At Diospolis a few rude examples were found, made apparently at 36 and 33-55 (sequence dates). Several figures are represented standing; another appears to be seated. On most of them are to be seen distinct indications of the *karnata*, or sheath; the beard is carefully marked.[1] In general, it may be said that the rendering of these figures is not more perfect than that of the human representations we examined in the chapter relating to decorative art (Fig. 119).

FIG. 118.—WORKED FLINT IN FORM OF A WILD BARBARY SHEEP. Berlin Museum.[3]

Another statuette, in a yellowish pottery, discovered in the necropolis of Gebel el Tarif, is more interesting. It shows a bearded personage kneeling, the arms hanging down the body. Here already the face is better formed, and the nose and ears are well indicated.[4]

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. U 96; vi. B 119, and p. 36. The two statuettes U 96 are of clay, painted red. Two similar pieces were discovered by Mr. Garstang, at Alawanyeh: see GARSTANG, *Mahâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, London, 1903, pl. iii. See also two specimens in ivory in the MacGregor Collection. NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie, et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. 1900, pl. v.

[2] After *Die Umschau*, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Ib.*

[4] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, i. p. 151, fig. 373; ii. fig. 111, p. 54.

Mr. Evans has drawn an extremely able comparison between this figure and a marble idol found at Amorgos. "Though

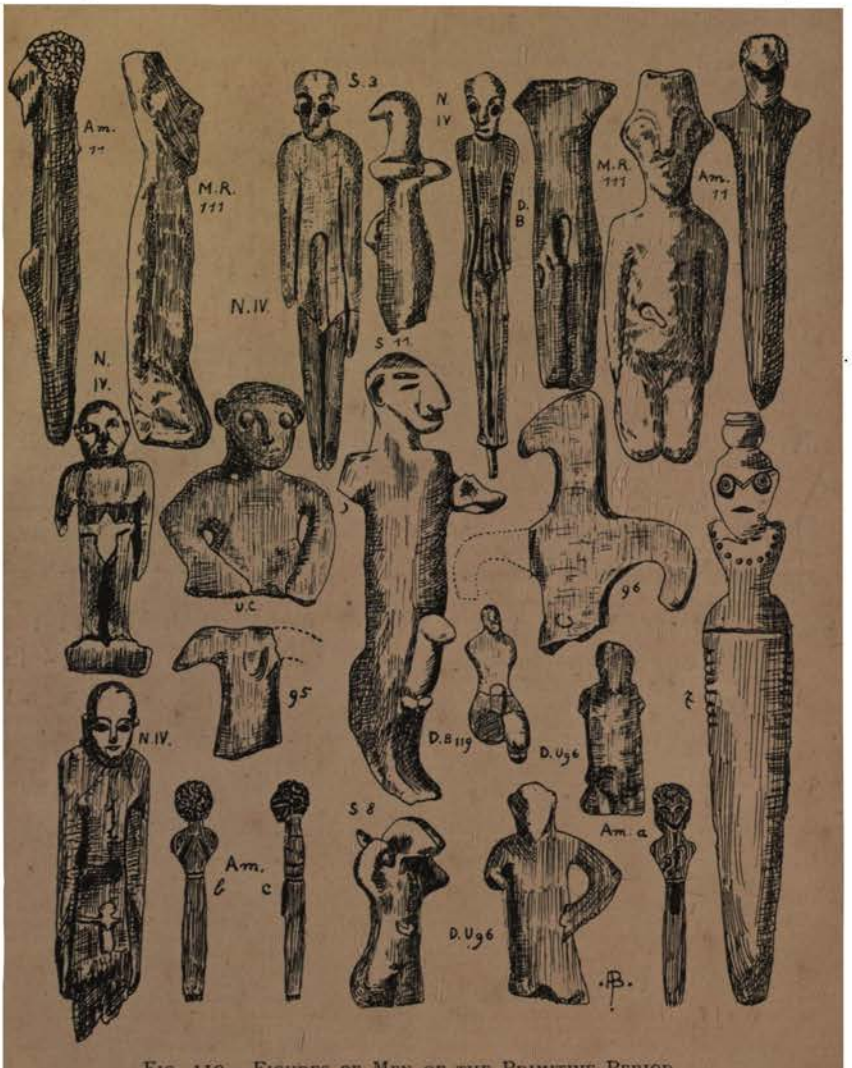


FIG. 119.—FIGURES OF MEN OF THE PRIMITIVE PERIOD.

differing," he says, "from the primitive marble 'idols' of the Aegean Islands in its bent knees and arms held close to the side, yet it shows a remarkable resemblance to them in its general shape; while in its recurved flat-topped head it

reproduces one of their most characteristic features"[1] (Fig. 119, M. R 111).

In the excavations at El Amrah Mr. MacIver discovered several figures of men of the same type as the specimens found at Diospolis, and always characterized by the *karnata* or sheath[2] (Fig. 119).

There are several other statuettes in the Berlin Museum,[3] and one without legs, its history unknown, in the Petrie Collection, University College, London. Figures of men occur more frequently in the mass of ivories discovered at Hierakonpolis, and at the same time we note a real advance on the preceding pieces. These ivories are unfortunately in rather bad condition, and a serious effort is necessary in order to realize what they were before their mutilation. We can see, however, that they were standing figures, clothed in a loin-cloth held in its place by a girdle, to which was attached the *karnata*. The beard, when represented, is enclosed in the bag already described. In short, it appears that the most frequent type was that of which Mr. MacGregor's ivory figure supplies the best specimen[4] (Figs. 20, 119, 120, and 121).

FIG. 120.—IVORY FIGURES OF MEN DISCOVERED AT HIERAKONPOLIS.

The heads probably do not belong to the bodies.—Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[1] EVANS, *Further Discoveries of Cretan and Aegean Script*, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xvii. 1897, p. 380, and fig. 33, p. 381.

[2] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. ix. 11, xii. 7, pp. 41, 42.

[3] SCHAEFER, *Neue Altertümer der "new race" aus Negadah* in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, pp. 160, 161, figs. 8, 11.

[4] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. vii. viii. x. and pp. 6, 7. NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la*

From an examination of the physiological type of all these statuettes, Dr. Petrie considers that they represent individuals of the primitive race, anterior to the Egytians—those Libyans whom we have already met with several times. There is an ivory head (Fig. 121) which is especially characteristic.[1]

FIG. 121.—IVORY HEADS DISCOVERED AT HIERAKONPOLIS.

On another head of a man we see a kind of high-pointed

philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes, xxii. 1900, pl. v.—There are two small ivory figures in the MacGregor Collection similar to the specimens found at Hierakonpolis.

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. v. vi. 4, 5, p. 6. SCHWEINFURTH, *Die neuesten Gräberfunde in Oberägypten und die Stellung der noch lebenden Wüsten-Stämmen zu der altägyptischen Bevölkerung*, in the *Verhandlungen der berl. anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, pp. 180-186. PETRIE, *The Races of Early Egypt*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. 1901, p. 250, pl. xviii. 6.

casque, suggestive of the white crown[1] (Figs. 121 and 132), and the same head-dress is found on a small ivory statuette discovered in the temple of Abydos, which dates from the commencement of the historic period. This is undoubtedly the masterpiece of ivory carving of the primitive age. Professor Petrie speaks thus on the subject, and we may entirely rely on his judgment:

FIG. 122.—IVORY STATUETTE FROM ABYDOS.

"He is figured as wearing the crown of Upper Egypt and a thick embroidered robe. From the nature of the pattern and the stiff edge represented, it looks as if this robe were quilted with embroidery: no such dress is known on any Egyptian figure yet found. The work belongs to an unconventional school, before the rise of fixed traditions; it might have been carved in any age and country where good natural work was done. It

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. vii. viii. 6.

shows a power of dealing with individuality which stands apart from all the later work in its unshrinking figuring of age and weakness with a subtle character. It belongs to the same school of art as the figures . . . and these reveal a style which has hitherto been quite unsuspected, as preceding the more formal style of the Old Kingdom"[1] (Fig. 122).

The position of the ears should be noticed; they are placed perpendicularly on the head, and seem to be of abnormal size. It may be questioned whether this is not a trace of a custom of intentional malformation of the ears, the more so that the same anomaly, with even greater exaggeration, is seen on other ivory heads from Hierakonpolis and Abydos[2] (Fig. 132, No. 14).

Female statuettes are far more numerous, and enable us to follow closely the evolution of the type. It is necessary, however, to begin by setting completely on one side certain figures of extraordinary appearance, of which we have already given illustrations of two specimens when treating of painting the body (Fig. 6).

These figures are characterized by an exaggerated development of fat, principally in the lower limbs, and especially the thighs (steatopygy). It is known that this deformity is frequently found among the Hottentots, and it has been compared with a representation in the temple of Deir el Bahari of an African

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. p. 24, pl. ii. 3, and xiii.

[2] *Ib.* ii. pl. iii. 17-19, and p. 24. A Mexican statue in the Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, shows a similar deformity. See WOERMAN, *Geschichte der Kunst aller Zeiten und Völker*, i. Leipzic, 1900, fig. p. 88. PLINY, *Natural History*, iv. 27, 5: "The island of the Fanesii, in which the inhabitants, who are naked, completely cover themselves with their ears, which are of excessive size." MALE, E., *L'art religeux du xiii^e. siècle en France*, Paris, 1902, p. 77 (the Portal of Vézelay): "Men with ears as large as winnowing fans." DELAFOSSE, M., *Sur des traces probables de civilisation égyptienne et d'hommes de race blanche à la côte d'ivoire*, in *l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1900, p. 679, "Ces fils du Ciel avaient la peau blanche; leurs oreilles étaient si grandes qu'ils s'en cachaient leur visage à la vue d'un homme de la terre." P. 684, "Tous ceux qui en ont vu ou en ont entendu parler disent que, pour ne pas être reconnus, ils prenaient leurs oreilles avec les mains et les ramenaient sur leur visage."—Information contributed by MM. Bayet, Macoir, M. Hébert, and F. de Zeltner.

queen, the queen of Punt.[1] These curious statuettes are in two positions, either standing or seated.[2] The specimens in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, reproduced here, are of a greyish clay, covered with a brilliant red glaze, and still show traces of black paint (Figs. 123, 124, 125). The Berlin Museum possesses a seated figure, the only complete one I know of (Fig. 125).

FIG. 123.—STEATOPYGOUS CLAY FIGURES. Ashmolean Museum.

We here encounter an important problem concerning the history of the migrations of primitive peoples. Should these Egyptian statuettes be taken as a proof of the presence of a Hottentot race in prehistoric Egypt?

Dr. Fouquet writes, after the examination of the bones discovered in the tombs: "At South Naqada, the cephalic index —for the men, 72, 73; for the women, 73, 13— induces a comparison with those of the Hottentots, the Bushmen (72, 42) the Kaffirs (72, 54). The discovery made by Flinders Petrie at Naqada itself of steatopygous statuettes suggested to him the

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 34. MARIETTE, *Voyage dans le Haute Égypte*, Paris and Cairo, 1878, ii. pl. 62, pp. 72, 73. See, however, DENIKER, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, pp. 110, 111.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. vi. 1-4, p. 34

same idea, which he does not appear to have adopted on a final analysis. It is known, however, that this race penetrated into France, and it is possible that they returned by way of Egypt."[1]

This impression appears at the first glance to be extraordinary; but we hasten to add that it is identical with that entertained by all those who have examined these objects. M. de Villenoisy writes[2]: "The excavations at Brassempuy have effected the discovery of a series of ivory statuettes representing women with whose head-dress there is nothing analogous except in Egypt,

FIG. 124.—STEATOPYGOUS CLAY FIGURES.
Ashmolean Museum.

and whose physiological characteristics are found only in Africa, among the most ancient inhabitants of the soil: the dwellers in the land of Punt (now Somaliland) in the time of the Egyptian Queen Hatasu (eighteenth dynasty), Abyssinians and Bolofs (who must at one time have been neighbours of Egypt), Bushmen and Hottentots. The insistence with which M. Piette pointed out, on the Pyrenean palæolithic figures, peculiarities which

[1] FOUQUET, *Recherches sur les crânes de l'époque de la pierre taillée en Égypte*, in DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. p. 378.

[2] DE VILLENOISY, *L'hiatus préhistorique et les découvertes de M. Ed. Piette*, in the *Bulletin de la Société de spéléologie*, April to June and July to September, 1896, pp. 97, 98.

among women of contemporary races are found to be exclusively African, did not at first succeed in fixing attention; it was considered that they were merely the result of accidental circumstances, or lack of skill on the part of the sculptor. A great step in advance was taken when, at the meeting of the *Academie des Inscriptions*, November 23rd, 1894, M. Maspero recognized the great similarity that exists between the legless figures of Bassempuy and those deposited in the tombs of Egypt. He believes them to be inspired by the same religious conception."

FIG. 125.—STEATOPYGOUS FIGURE IN CLAY (COMPLETE). Berlin Museum.

M. Boule, in *l'Anthropologie*,[1] expresses himself in the same way with regard to the Hierakonpolis figures: "The comparison may have very slender foundation, yet I cannot resist finding a certain resemblance between some of these reproductions and those on the sculptures found by M. Piette at Mas d'Azil, and I received the same impression on examining the steatopygous female figures found by Professor Flinders Petrie and Mr. Quibell at Naqada and Ballas."

[1] *l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1900, p. 759.

Notwithstanding Boule's doubts, it seems probable that this resemblance is not without foundation. We find analogous figures in the French caves,[1] in Malta,[2] in the regions of Thrace and Illyria, at Butmir, Cucuteni, Sereth, in Poland,[3] in Greece,[4] and the Aegean Islands, notably Crete.[5]

FIG. 126.—CLAY FEMALE FIGURE. University College, London.

But by the side of these steatopygous figures, in Egypt as also in France, statuettes of another type are found, characteristic of a race of less bulky proportions.[6] The best specimen that can be quoted is the figure decorated with paintings already reproduced (Fig. 5). There are statuettes of this type in clay, ivory, and lead, where the legs are summarily indicated. Frequently the arms are merely represented by means of a nip in the clay, causing the shoulder to project. Occasionally the breasts are clearly indicated; at other times there is not a trace of them. We must notice a curious specimen,

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 34, where he quotes *l'Anthropologie*, vi. 1895, 129-151. HOERNES, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, pl. ii. figs. 9-13. REINACH, S., *Statuette de femme nue découverte dans une des grottes de Menton*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, pp. 26-31, pl. i. ii.

[2] MAYR, *Die vorgeschichtlichen Denkmäler von Malta*, in the *Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wiss.*, i. Cl., xxi. Bd., iii. Abth. München, 1901, pp. 699-703, and pl. x. 2, xi. 1 and 2. Review by ARTHUR EVANS, in *Man*, 1902, No. 32, pp. 41-44, fig. 3, p. 43, reproduces fig. 2 of pl. xi. of Mayr more clearly; tatoo-marks are distinguishable.

[3] HOERNES, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst*, p. 192 and pl. iii. The statuette of Cucuteni (Roumania) and that of Poland are reproduced in REINACH, S., *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines*, fig. 94 and 95 (separate reprint, p. 39). Compare especially the figure from Poland with those of our Fig. 123.

[4] PERROT & CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vi., *La Grèce primitive, l'art mycènien*, fig. 325, p. 736, and figs. 333 and 334, p. 741.

[5] EVANS, ARTHUR, *The Neolithic Settlement at Knossos and its Place in the History of Early Aegean Culture*, in *Man*, 1901, No. 146, pp. 184-186, and fig. They appear again in Egypt in the eighteenth dynasty. See MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. iv. D 8. GARSTANG, *El Arabah*, London, 1901, pl. xix. E 178.

[6] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 34.

of unknown provenance, at University College, London, where the hands are clasped as though to hide[1] the lower part of the body (Fig. 126). There is also a specimen which is almost perfect at the Berlin Museum in vegetable paste, No. 14167 (Fig. 127).

FIG. 127.—FEMALE FIGURE IN VEGETABLE PASTE. Berlin Museum.

Another very early example (sequence date 38) in vegetable paste moulded on a reed core is painted red and black. The lower part of the face appears to be covered with a veil. Round the thighs there is a belt curved at the lower edge at both ends so as to form a point between the legs when joined[1] (Fig. 128, No. 11). There is a similar specimen in the Petrie Collection, University College, London, as well as another in lead (Fig. 128). The excavations at Diospolis have furnished other examples, notably, from tomb B 101 (sequence date 34), a small figure with the arms carefully carved[2] (Fig. 128, D. B 101).

In the same necropolis, in tomb B 83 (sequence date 33-48), excavations have brought to light a female statuette, already worked more in detail, where the legs and also the hair are at least indicated (Fig. 128, D. B 83). The arms are still represented in the same rudimentary fashion as in the figures of the Aegean Islands.[3]

In the series of ivory female statuettes the progress is enormous. Unfortunately there has been no specimen found in the course of scientific excavation to furnish a relative date for these objects. The examples we can quote present a great variety in

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lix. 11; *Diospolis*, p. 26. Now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Identical fragments in *Diospolis*, pl. v. B 101, and p. 33.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. p. 33.

[3] *Ib.* pl. vi. B 83, p. 32.

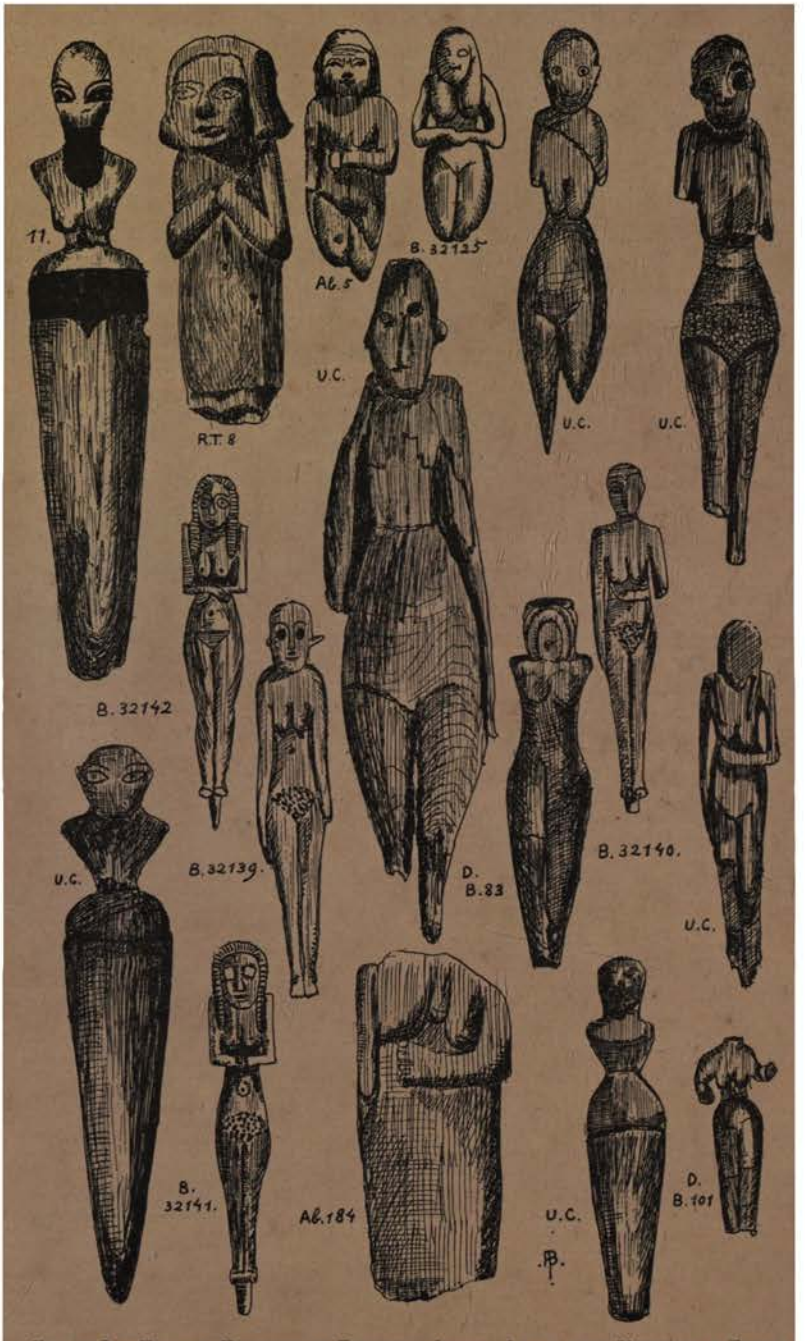


FIG. 128.—FEMALE FIGURES IN POTTERY, IVORY, LEAD, AND VEGETABLE PASTE.

the position of the arms. Sometimes they hang down the body; sometimes only the right arm is pendant, while the left appears to support the breasts. One figure has the arms folded on the breast; others have one hand placed on the stomach, while the second hides the lower part of the body. Most have the head shaved; some, on the contrary, wear the hair long, with two locks hanging down in front over the

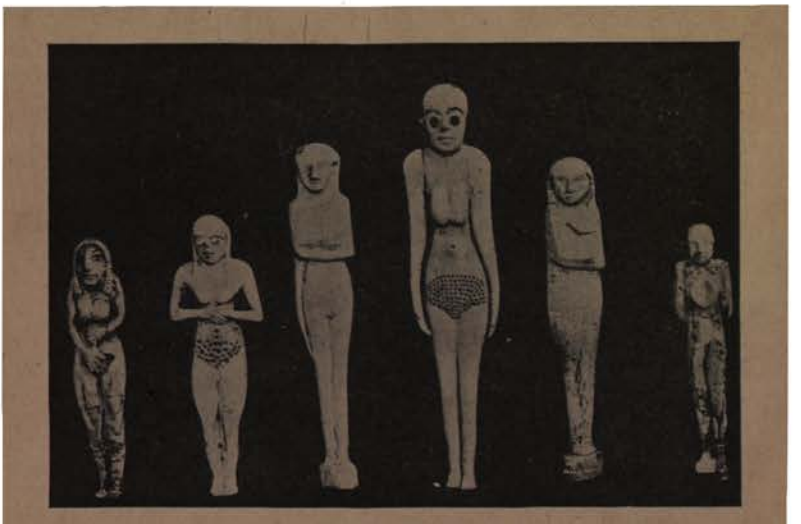


FIG. 129.—FEMALE FIGURES IN IVORY.
MacGregor Collection.

shoulders, framing the face. On some specimens the hair on the lower part of the body is crudely rendered by a series of holes, arranged fan-shape. The eyes are sometimes carved, sometimes inlaid with round bone beads[1] (Figs. 128 and 129).

Some of these later figures have a tenon at the base, by means of which they were fastened to stands, similar to

[1] British Museum, 32,125, 32,139-42. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 52. University College, London: see our Fig. 128 MacGregor Collection: NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. 1900, pl. iv. of which our Fig. 129 is a reproduction.

those of some of the Hierakonpolis ivories which we are about to consider.

The British Museum (No. 32,143) possesses a statuette of a woman standing, wrapped in a large cloak, the upper edge of which is fringed, leaving the left breast uncovered; on her shoulder she carries a child, whose body is hidden beneath the folds of the cloak[1] (Fig. 130).

FIG 130.—FIGURE OF A WOMAN CARRYING A CHILD ON HER SHOULEDRS. British Museum.

The type of the woman carrying her child also occurs in an ivory figure in the Berlin Museum (No. 14,441) of extremely rough style of work (Fig. 131).

At Hierakonpolis we find the same female figures, and these enable us to decide that the examples described in the preceding lines, which are of uncertain provenance, are to be considered as belonging to the age shortly before the rise of the first dynasty. There is, in fact, progress made between one group and the next, and although the pose and the arrangement of the hair may be the same, one is conscious that the artist has a feeling for the individuality of the type which is completely absent in the earlier figures. Like the preceding examples, a fair number of these statuettes have the eyes inlaid.

I cannot attempt to describe all these carvings. They present but few varieties beyond those I have mentioned. In Figs. 132 and 133 are reproductions of the best ivories found at Hierakonpolis, and now at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. I wish however, to draw attention to the figures wrapped in large cloaks which we have already dealt with, and also to remark on two small statuettes, on bases,[2] identical in style with an ivory

[1] BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 53, No. 7.

[2] For the Hierakonpolis ivories see QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. ix. x.

statuette discovered during the winter of 1902-3 at Abydos, and dating from the first Egyptian dynasty. These are figures of children carved in excellent style, and free from conventionality[1] (Fig. 132, Nos. 18 and 21, and Fig. 133, No. 2).

The same excavations at Abydos have contributed other carvings of children, with the finger in the mouth, a traditional attitude[2] which we had previously met with in a figure from Hierakonpolis carved in chrysocolla.[3] Also, at Abydos, two ivory statuettes of women were found, one of which shows a strong affinity to the Hierakonpolis carvings[4] (Fig. 128, Ab 5); while the other, according to Dr. Petrie, already shows signs of the formalist style of the Ancient Empire.[5]

FIG. 131.—IVORY FIGURE OF A WOMAN CARRYING A CHILD.
Berlin Museum.

There are various other figures which are unimportant, with the exception of some specimens in clay and glazed pottery,[6] and the pretty statuette in glazed pottery reproduced to illustrate hair-dressing (Fig. 15).

Finally, to terminate this list of female figures, we must mention an interesting statuette in lapis-lazuli, discovered at Hierakonpolis. The position of the hands, the slender proportions of the body,

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 1, and p. 23.

[2] *Ib.* ii. pl. ii. 7, 8; pl. iii. 18.

[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 4.

[4] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 5 and p. 24. The same is the case with the female figures found in the royal tombs at Abydos. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. iii.*b*, 8, and p. 21. AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, 1895-6. *compte rendu in extenso*, Paris, 1899, pl. xxxi.

[5] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 2 and pp. 23, 24.

[6] *Ib.* ii. pl. ix. 184, xi. 23c.

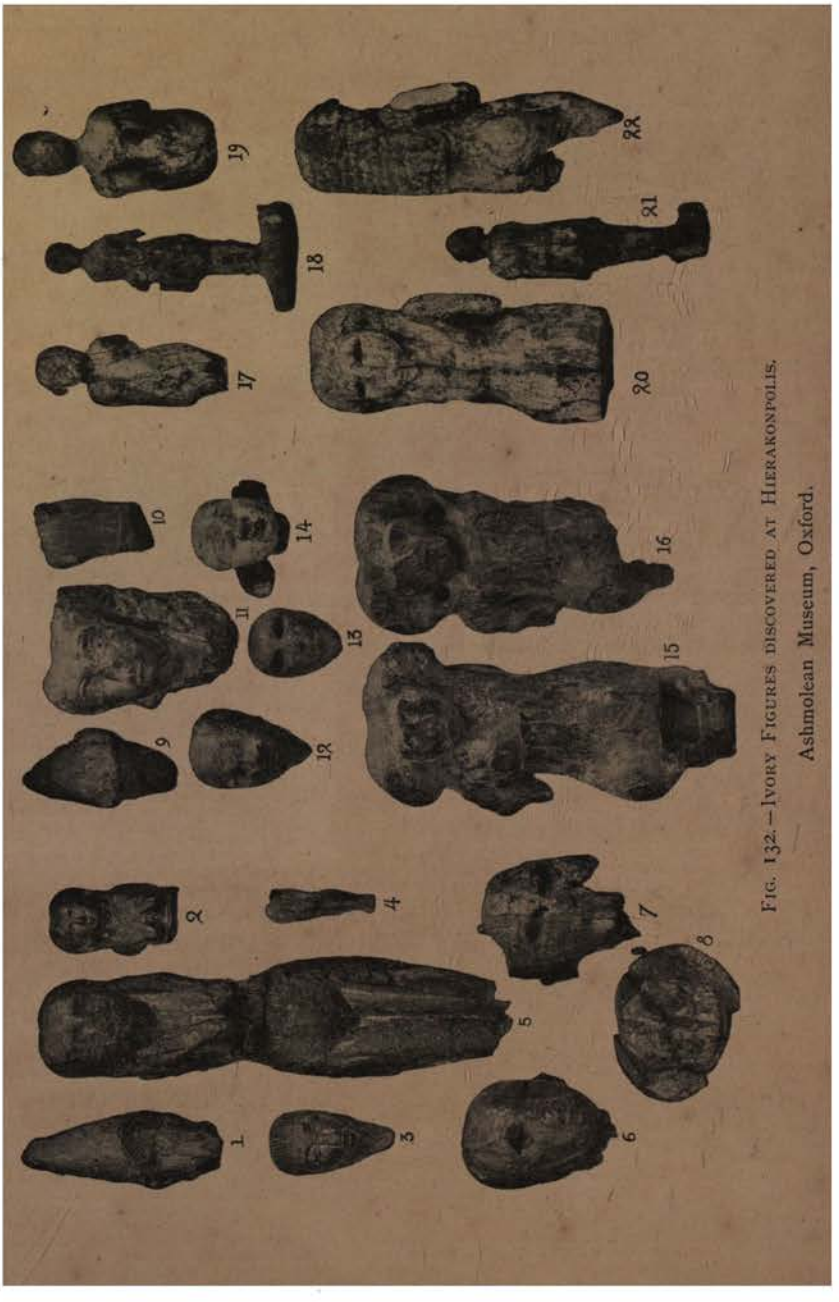


FIG. 132.—IVORY FIGURES DISCOVERED AT HIERAKONPOLIS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

FIG. 133.—IVORY FIGURES DISCOVERED AT HIERAKONPOLIS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

and the bending of the knees recall to an astonishing degree the small figures of the Greek Islands[1] (Fig. 134).

FIG. 134.—SMALL FIGURE IN LAPIS-LAZULI FROM HIERAKONPOLIS. Ashmolean Museum.

I have intentionally omitted a class of male and female figures, because they represent anatomical malformations which suggest rickets. Some curious specimens[2] have been published, and these at once elicited a comparison with the figures of "Ptah in embryo" of the historic age.[3] There are two examples in ivory in the Petrie Collection, University College, London. We shall presently have occasion to enquire what was the meaning of these deformed figures, and for what reason they were deposited in the tombs and temples (Fig. 135).

We must also class in a separate category the statuettes which represent human beings either squatting or in positions which seem to be impossible. This is the case with men represented standing[4] or kneeling, with the arms bound behind the back, and apparently captives. There is an ivory figure, very instructive with regard to this point, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; it was brought from Egypt in 1891 by Greville Chester (159-91), and is stated to have been

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 3, and p. 7; ii. p. 38.

[2] NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. 1900, pl. 5. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, ix. p. 52, 2. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xi. and xviii. 7, 19, and p. 7; ii. pp. 37, 38. PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. v. 44, 48; x. 213, pp. 25, 27.

[3] See VIRCHOW, *Die Phokomelen und das Bärenweib*, in the *Verhandlungen der berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1898, pp. 55-61, with fig. and plate. DR. PARROT, *Sur l'origine d'une des formes du dieu Ptah*, in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, ii. 1880, pp. 129-133, and plate (reproduction from the *Bulletins de la Société d'anthropologie de Paris*, 1878, p. 296). DR. EIFER, *L'Achondroplasie*, in the *Correspondant médical*, vi. 120, September 15th, 1899. See SCHWEINFURTH, *Ueber westafrikanische Figuren aus Talkschiefer*, in the *Verhandlungen der berl. Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1901, pp. 329, 330 and fig.

[4] SCHAEFER, *Neue Altertümer der "new race" aus Negadah*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, p. 159, and fig. 3, p. 160

found at Thebes. The main interest of this object lies in the well preserved leather belt, which represents the tightly drawn thong that held the captive in his crouching position. In all other specimens this leather thong has disappeared, but this example shows how similar statuettes should be interpreted (type of our Fig. 132, No. 19).

The Hierakonpolis ivories give several examples of these

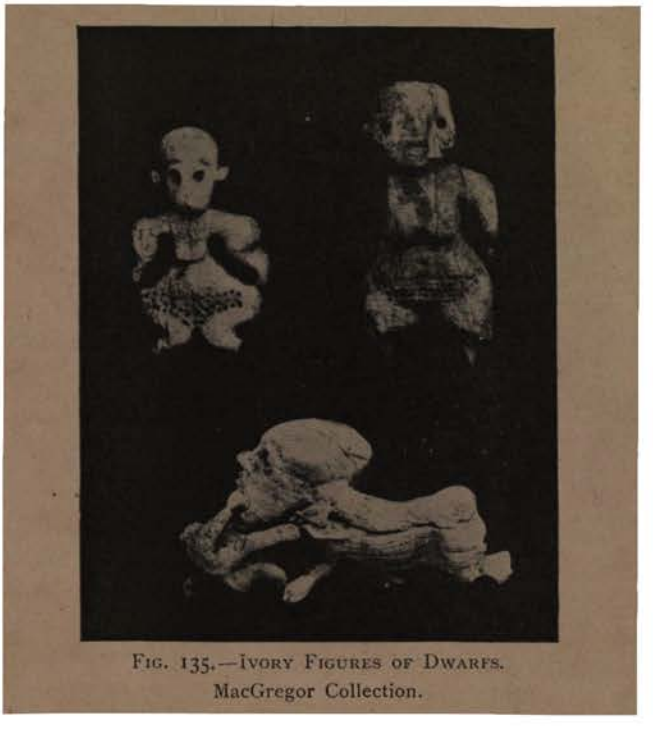


FIG. 135.—IVORY FIGURES OF DWARFS.
MacGregor Collection.

captives, the arms bound behind the back[1] (Fig. 14). Objects of the same type, but in glazed pottery, were found at Hierakonpolis and Abydos.[2] There is also a small figure to be noticed at University College, London, in a hard red limestone, with eyes of rock crystal, and another fragment of crystal inlaid on the top of the head.[3] Objects of the first dynasty, where scenes

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xi. xii.
[2] *Ib.* i. pl. xxi. 2, 3, xxii. 3. PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. v. 37, and p. 25.
[3] PETRIE *Prehistoric Egyptian Figures*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 14, p. 17, pl. B, 1.

occur representing captives, and which we shall consider farther on, afford proof of the accuracy of this interpretation.

Finally we will deal with the statuettes representing servants. At Naqada, in a tomb (No. 271), Petrie discovered a row of four ivory statuettes placed upright, on the east side of the tomb, several centimetres apart. They represented personages (whether male or female it is difficult to say) having a vase on the head. The eyes are indicated by beads[1] (Fig. 119, No. 7). One of these is at University College, London, and also the head of a similar piece in alabaster.

FIG. 136.—FIGURE OF A WOMAN STANDING IN A LARGE JAR.

There are some specimens at the Berlin Museum, which are supposed to have come from Naqada, which must be included in this list of statuettes, although they are of a very different style. Some of these formed part of the crew of a boat (Fig. 119, S 3, 8, and 11). One of the most curious is the figure of a woman standing in a large jar, occupied in crushing something under her feet. The left hand is upon her hip, and with the right she supports herself by resting it on the edge of the vase[2] (Fig. 136).

I have reserved for this chapter some vases of human form

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lix. 7, and p. 21; *Diospolis*, p. 26, where the sequence date 38 is given. Compare HEUZEY, *Musée national du Louvre, Catalogue des antiquités chaldéennes, sculpture et gravure à la pointe*, Paris, 1902, pp. 96, 97, 105, 111, 305, 306. 313-318.

[2] SCHAEFER, *Neue Altertümer der "new race" aus Negadah*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, pp. 160, 161. A fragment of a similar figure has been found at Naqada—see PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxvi. 95, and p. 41; *id.* pl. xxxvi. 96, another piece of unknown provenance (Fig. 119); an unpublished piece at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a head at University College, London. It seems that the woman, standing in the jar, is occupied in the preparation of beer, made by means of bread. See BORCHARDT, *Die Dienerstatuen aus den Gräbern des alten Reiches*, in the *Zeitschrift*, xxxv. 1897, pp. 128 *et seq.* and fig. p. 129; Kat. 1895, No. 91.

published by M. Naville as belonging to the primitive period, and which appear to belong rather to sculpture than to decorative art. The first of these are two vases of hard stone and the

FIG. 137.—VASES IN FORM OF WOMEN.

fragment of a third vase belonging to the fine collection of Mr. MacGregor. One is a kneeling woman, holding in her hand an object resembling a horn. I was struck with the analogy which this object presents with the attribute that appears on a large

number of European prehistoric sculptures.[1] The other is a dwarf of a type already known, while the fragment appears to be part of a female figure.[2] M. Naville compares these with two terracotta figures in the Athens Museum. With Erman and Petrie, I do not hesitate to attribute them to the eighteenth dynasty.[3]

As regards the figure of the standing woman, bought by M. Naville at Luxor and published at the same time as the two preceding ones, I have difficulty in believing it to be Egyptian work, and I am inclined to connect it with the school of ceramic art which produced the black incised pottery with whitish paste, of which we have spoken earlier (Fig. 137).

Figures of animals are extremely numerous. It is strange to remark that the primitive artists in general understood better the rendering of animals than of human figures. They carved a great variety of animals, and sometimes in materials both hard and valuable. Of these we will note the most interesting specimens, classifying them according to their species.

The hippopotamus has been found in almost all the excavations—at Hierakonpolis, Abydos, Diospolis, and at Gebelein Sometimes it is in clay,[4] sometimes in glazed pottery,[5] and also, at times, in stone[6] (Fig. 138). There is a figure of a hippo-

[1] REINACH, S., *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines*, Angers, 1896, pp. 13, 18-20, and figs. 26, 28, 44, 46-49.

[2] NAVILLE, *Figurines égyptiennes de l'époque archaïque*, ii., in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xxii. 1900, pp. 65, 66, pl. i.-iii.

[3] NAVILLE, *ib.* xxi. 1899, pp. 212-216, pl. ii. iii. These vases may be compared with those found at Abydos. See GARSTANG, *El Arabah*, pl. xix. E 178. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. xlviii. 1, and notice of J. L. MYRES, *ib.* pp. 72-75.

[4] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. B 101 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); *Abydos*, i. pl. liii. 35 (Musées royaux de Bruxelles), and p. 26; ii. pl. ix. 188, and p. 27, x. 225. VON BISSING, *Altägyptische Gefässe im Museum zu Gise*, in the *Zeitschrift fur ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvi. 1898, p. 124, and fig. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. ix. 5.

[5] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 18 (see xlviii. *b*) (Ashmolean Museum Oxford). PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. vi. 70, 71, 73, and p. 25.

[6] Limestone: PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. v. B 101, and p. 33 (Ashmolean Museum); *Naqada*, pl. lx. 22, and p. 46 (bought at Gebelein, University College, London). Calcite: QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxiv. 5, and p. 50, tomb 153

potamus which merits special attention; it belongs to the museum at Athens, where it forms part of the Di Demetrio Collection. It is carved in black and white granite, and is extremely polished. The beast is scarcely disengaged from the block; the head only has been treated with some detail. The

FIG. 138.—FIGURES OF HIPPOPOTAMI IN CLAY, GLAZED POTTERY, AND STONE.
University College, London, and Ashmolean Museum.

whole effect is heavy and thickset, but nevertheless it is not without character. Professor Wiedemann, who drew attention to this curious piece, does not hesitate to attribute it to the

(Ethnographical Museum, Cambridge). Alabaster: PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. x. 226, and p. 27, a specimen in quartzite in the MacGregor Collection, Tamworth (3,334). Three similar pieces belong to the Randolph Berens Collection at the South Kensington Museum.

Naqada period[1] (Fig. 139), and this impression is confirmed by comparison with the figures of lions belonging to the primitive period which were discovered by Dr. Petrie at Koptos.[2]

The lion type is specially interesting. The earliest pieces were discovered by Mr. Quibell in a tomb at Ballas. They are in ivory, and show the animal lying down, the head low, and the tail twisted over the back. It is considered that they formed part of a game.[3] Other specimens, almost

FIG. 139.—HIPPOPOTAMUS IN BLACK AND WHITE GRANITE.

contemporaneous, were purchased by Dr. Petrie, and are now at University College, London. They were probably found at Gebelein, where there is a vast prehistoric necropolis, which unfortunately has not yet been subjected to regular and scientific excavation. These lions in limestone are of a type similar to the Ballas lions; but already one sees in two of them a movement of the head which is found in almost all the later

[1] WIEDEMANN, *Zu Nagada Periode*, in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, iii. 1900, col. 86.

[2] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pl. v.•5, and p. 7 (one of these at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

[3] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. vii. Q 711, pl. lx. 12, 16, 17, and pp. 14, 35, 46.

ones[1] (Fig. 140). Another example of uncertain provenance is more massive, and is scarcely disengaged from the block of limestone.[2] The royal tomb of Naqada, apparently contemporary with Menes, has yielded two figures of lions—one of rock crystal, of crude work, recalling the earlier pieces[3]; the other of

FIG. 140.—SMALL FIGURES OF LIONS.
University College, London.

ivory, in which the sculptor has endeavoured to render the details, carefully indicating the ears and mane.[4]

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lx. 24-26.

[2] *Ib.*, pl. lx. 23.

[3] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. fig. 700, and pp. 193, 194. There is a second example, probably also from Naqada, in the MacGregor Collection (No. 533).

[4] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. figs. 699 *a* and *b*, and pp. 192-194. VON BISSING, *Les origines de l'Égypte* in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, pl. iii. 8, and p. 249. A similar specimen is in the collection of Mr. Hilton Price, London. See HILTON PRICE, *Notes upon some Pre-dynastic and Early Dynastic Antiquities from Egypt in the writer's collection*, in *Archæologia*, lvi. 1899 (published separately, p. 5, fig. 5 *h*, and p. 10). There is another specimen in the MacGregor Collection (No. 504).

The ivory lions discovered in one of the private tombs which surround the tomb of King Zer, show a further improvement in form. On one of these Professor Petrie notices two spots marked above the eyes. This peculiarity is not met with on Egyptian work, but is frequently observed in that of Mesopotamia; he also points out that the position of the tail

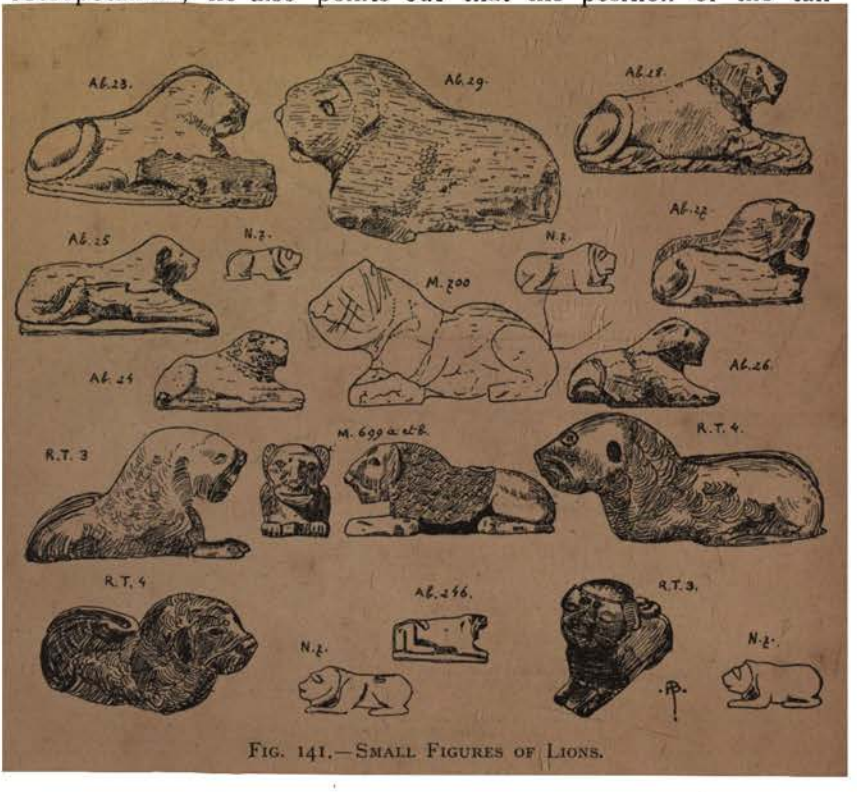


FIG. 141.—SMALL FIGURES OF LIONS.

in this figure, twisted over the back and curved at the end, is identical with those of the prehistoric carvings.[1] The final peculiarity to be observed is that two lines in relief clearly define the outline of the muzzle (Fig. 141).

The excavations of Amelineau, in the same tombs at Abydos, had previously produced a lion in ivory,[2] and also a head

[1] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. vi. 3, 4, and p. 23.

[2] AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, 1895-6, *Compte rendu in extenso*, Paris, 1899, pl. xxxi.

on which the two lines of the muzzle are more clearly defined.[1] There is an example of larger size in which this peculiarity is of special interest. This is a limestone statue discovered by Petrie at Koptos, which reproduces the principal characteristics of the small figures (Fig. 142). One would gladly assign it to

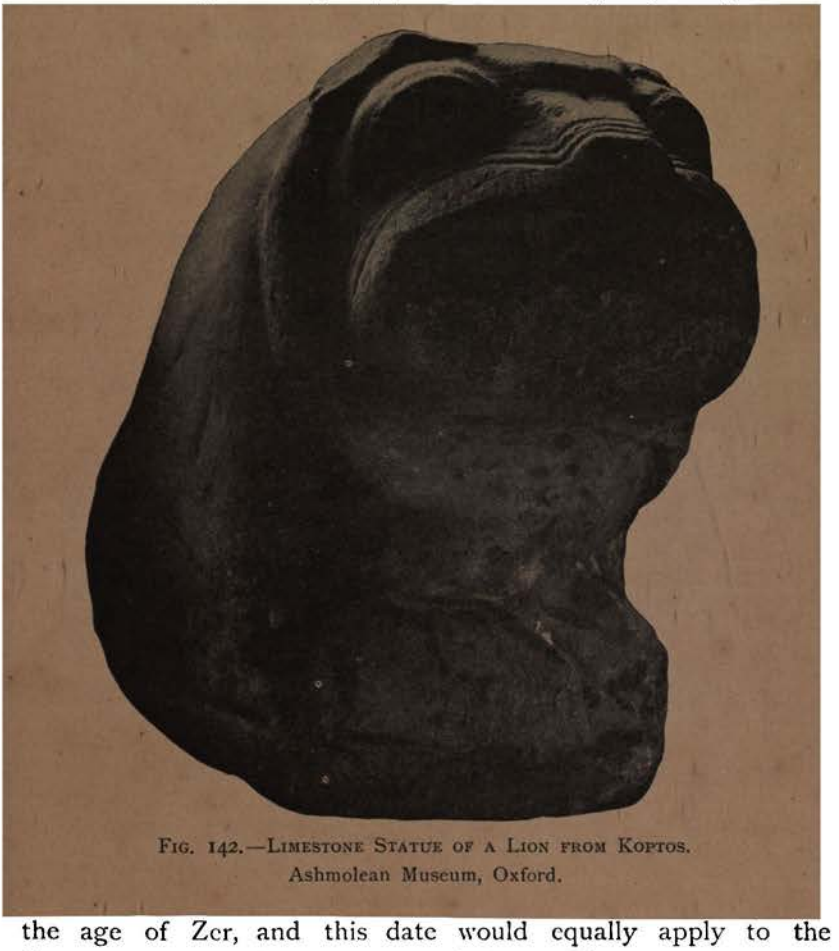


FIG. 142.—LIMESTONE STATUE OF A LION FROM KOPTOS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

the age of Zer, and this date would equally apply to the hippopotamus at the museum at Athens. These specimens are, however, not sufficiently abundant to enable us to fix with certainty the appearance of a type.[2]

[1] AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, pl. xlii. p. 307, where they are quoted as figured on pl. xli.

[2] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pl. v. 5, and p. 7.

In the Randolph Berens Collection, now deposited at the South Kensington Museum, there are two large lions in black granite and in alabaster found at Abydos. They bear witness to an art far more powerful than that of the great lion of Koptos, and they should be attributed, I think, to the first dynasty.

The excavations carried on in the temple of Osiris at Abydos during the winter 1902-3 yielded a series of ivory lions

FIG. 143.—IVORY CARVINGS OF A DOG[1] AND OF A LION[2] FROM ABYDOS. Brussels Museum.

of excellent workmanship. Dr. Petrie, from the style, attributes them to a date later than that of Zer or Menes. Two of them are lionesses, and, strange to say, they are wearing collars. Did the artist intend thus to indicate that they were domesticated animals? Another has the eyes inlaid with chalcedony.[3]

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. iii. 22, p. 24. CAPART, *Antiquités de l'époque thinites* in the *Bulletin des Musées royaux des arts decoratifs et industriels à Bruxelles*, iii. 1904, p. 83, fig. 2.

[2] CAPART, *ib.* p. 83, fig. 4.

[3] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. iii. 23-29, and p. 24. Lionesses: 26 and 28. Eye in chalcedony: 29.

The excavations at Hierakonpolis led to the discovery of a remarkable figure of a lion in terracotta, which we shall have opportunity to discuss in connection with the earliest Egyptian antiquities. To conclude our examination of figures of lions, we must notice an example in glazed pottery, which also comes from Abydos.[1]

Figures of dogs are less numerous. They must be divided into two principal groups—the more archaic type, represented by glazed pottery figures discovered at Hierakonpolis and Abydos,[2]

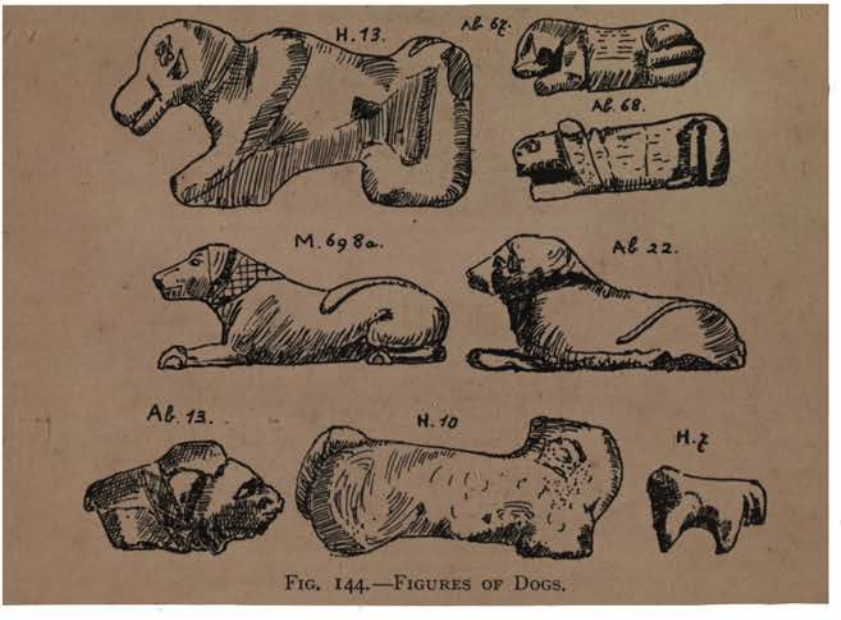


FIG. 144.—FIGURES OF DOGS.

and the later type represented by ivory carvings, which already suggest a resemblance to the lion figures of the time of the earliest sovereigns of the first dynasty[3] (Fig. 143). These dogs have a collar round the throat (Fig. 144).

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. xi. 246, and p. 28.

[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xx. 13 and p. 13 (monkey); ii. p. 38 (monkey ?). PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. vi. 67, 68 (?), and p. 25.

[3] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. figs. 698 *a* and *b*, and p. 192. VON BISSING, *Les origines de l'Égypt*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, pl. iii. figs. 7, 9, 11, and p. 249. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. vi. *a*, xxxiv. 21, 22, and p. 37; *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 13, iii. 22 (Musées royaux de Bruxelles), and p. 24. There is also a specimen in the MacGregor Collection, Tamworth (No. 534).

There are two breeds of dogs to be distinguished: a kind of mastiff, strong and powerful, which was employed in lion-hunting[1]; and also a breed of large running dogs, of slender build, with pendant ears, the head much like our modern foxhound, and with a coat either black and white, or white and reddish brown.[2] It is to this class of animal that the dog belongs which is represented by an ivory carving discovered at Hierakonpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford[3] (Fig. 145); also two rough fragments in clay, which Mr. Quibell recognizes as dogs.[4]

FIG. 145.—PART OF AN IVORY FIGURE OF A DOG.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

They are specially interesting from the analogy they present with European figures[5] (Fig. 144). These are almost all the examples of this species which have been found.

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 13. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xix. 6, and Fig. 68 of this book.

[2] See LENORMANT, FR., *Sur les animaux employés par les anciens Égyptiens à la chasse et à la guerre*, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des sciences de Paris*, October 31st, November 7th, 14th, and 28th, 1870. Reprinted in *Notes sur un voyage en Égypte*, Paris, Gauthier-Villars, 1870.

[3] The feet were carved separately and are now missing. It is the dog of which a portion only was published by QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xii. 7. The same breed is found, especially at Beni Hasan, under the twelfth dynasty. See NEWBERRY, P. E., *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xxx. See on the dogs of Egypt, besides Lenormant's article, quoted in the preceding note, BIRCH, *The Tablet of Antefaa II.*, in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, iv. 1875, pp. 172-195, pl. and fig.

[4] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxiii. 7, 10, and p. 50.

[5] REINACH, S., *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines*, fig. 366, p. 125. HOERNES, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst im Europa*, pl. xv. 11-14, and p. 522. The figure, *Hierakonpolis*, lxiii. 7, appears to me to represent

In the temple at Hierakonpolis, as in that of Abydos, enormous numbers of figures of apes were found, in stone and ivory, and also in glazed pottery, white and brown, light green, and blue or purple.

The most curious pieces are blocks of stone from Abydos, barely roughed out, and of which the head only is clearly indicated (Fig. 146). By the side of these there was a natural flint, with a projection bearing a vague resemblance to the head of a monkey. Petrie remarks that this likeness was the cause of

FIG. 146.—NATURAL FLINTS ROUGHLY WORKED TO RESEMBLE BABOONS. Found in the temple of Abydos.

its being preserved. "The great natural flint seems to have been kept," he says, "as being like a quadruped, and [another] for its likeness to a baboon. No other large flints were found in the whole temple area, and these must have been brought a mile or more from the desert. As they were placed with the rudest figures of baboons that we know, it seems that we have here the primitive fetish stones picked up because of their likeness to sacred animals, and perhaps venerated before any

a bull, and should be compared with those discovered at the station of Argar, in Spain: see SIRET, H. & L., *Les premiers ages du métal dans le sud-est de l'Espagne*, Anvers, 1887, pl. xvii. 1-3, and pp. 123, 124; also with those discovered at Cucuteni. See BUTZUREANO, GR. C., *Note sur Coucouteni et plusieurs autres stations de la Moldavie du nord*, in the *Compte rendu du Congrès international d'anthropologie et d'archéologie préhistoriques*, tenth session, at Paris, in 1889, Paris, 1891, pp. 299-307 and pl. ii. 17, 18.—Information contributed by the Baron de Loë.

artificial images were attempted."[1] We will not insist on this point, which touches on the purpose of these figures—a subject with which we will deal later.

From the temple of Hierakonpolis there is another very rough stone figure.[2] The species of monkey here represented is the cynocephalus, seated on the ground, the fore-paws resting on the knees. Figures of this class are extremely numerous, always copied from the same type, sometimes summarily, sometimes worked with careful observation and a regard for detail which is quite remarkable.[3] One group gives the figure of two small apes seated in front of a large one.[4] All these statuettes are in glazed pottery, except one, which is in ivory[5] (Fig. 147).

We must mention, as exceptions to these, another kind of monkey which inspired the primitive artist to a remarkable degree. These were found at Hierakonpolis and Abydos, and represent a monkey who holds her young one tenderly in her arms,[6] the little one turning its head round and looking back with a gesture of alarm. Or, again, there is the ape seated, its fore-paws touching the ground. In this last example the artist has completely separated the paws, which rest in a perfectly natural manner on a small square base.[7] There is also a figure of a baboon walking, where the gait has been seized and rendered with much spirit[8] (Fig. 147).

The head of an ape in pottery, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, appears to have formed part of a more finished specimen than the numerous examples just quoted in glazed pottery.[9]

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ix. 190-196, p. 27.

[2] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xxxii. 1, and p. 43.

[3] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. liii. 7-9, 11, and p. 25;—ii. pl. vi. 50-61, 64, 65, and p. 25; ix. 197, 202, and p. 27; x. 217-219, and p. 27; xi. 233, 235, 238, 247, 248, 253, and p. 28. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxi. 10, 11; xxii. 11, 12.

[4] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. vi. 49, and p. 25.

[5] *Ib.* ii. pl. xi. 12, and p. 24.

[6] *Ib.* ii. pl. iv. v. 41, and p. 25 (glazed pottery). QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 1 (stone).

[7] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. iii. 16, and p. 24 (ivory).

[8] *Ib.* ii. pl. i. vii. 86, and p. 25 (glazed pottery).

[9] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxii. 1, and p. 49.

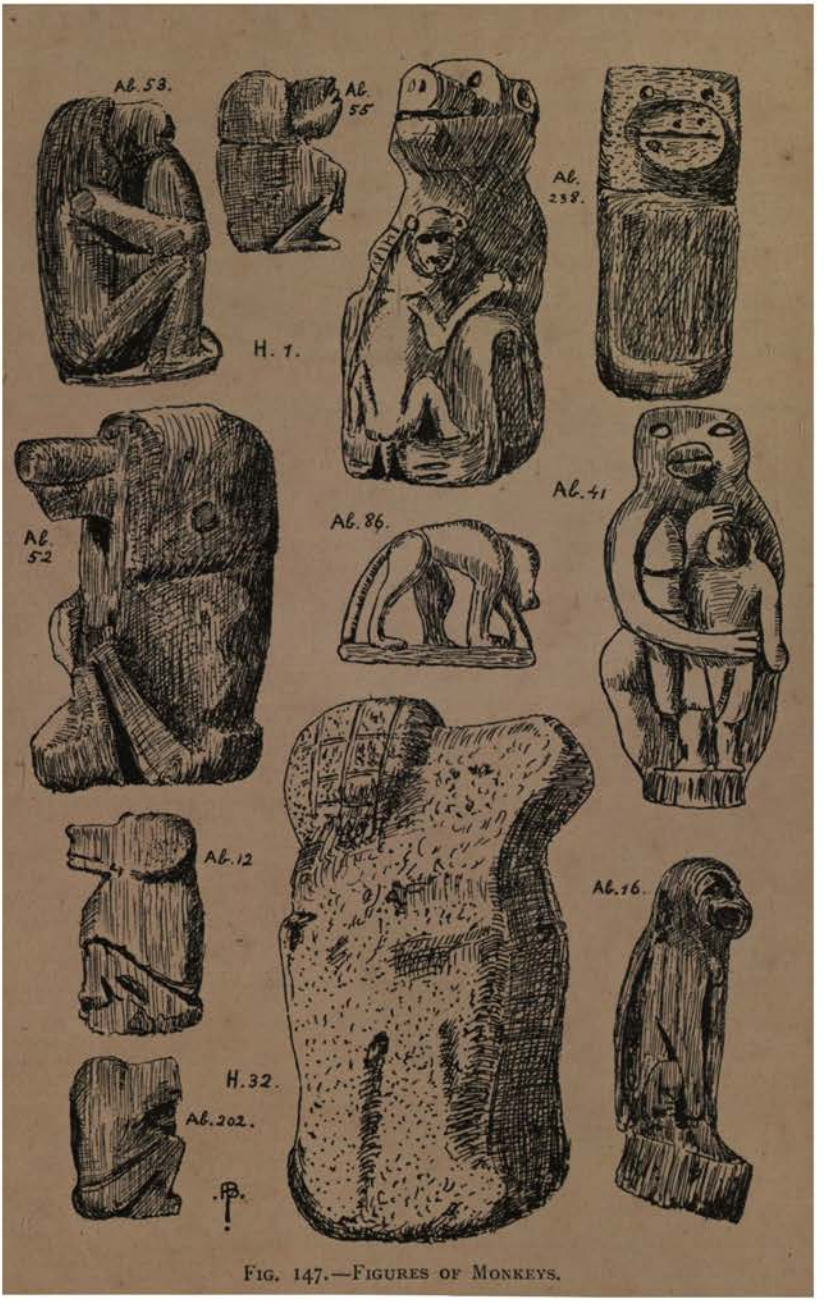


FIG. 147.—FIGURES OF MONKEYS.

Representations of bulls, cows, and calves were already in use in the prehistoric cemeteries, as was proved by the discoveries of Mr. MacIver at El Amrah. These animals are sometimes grouped in rows of four on the same base. Most frequently they are simply formed of unbaked mud, and so extremely friable that it is difficult to preserve them.[1] Occasionally one or two are found which have been baked. At Diospolis and Abydos other pieces have been discovered, where

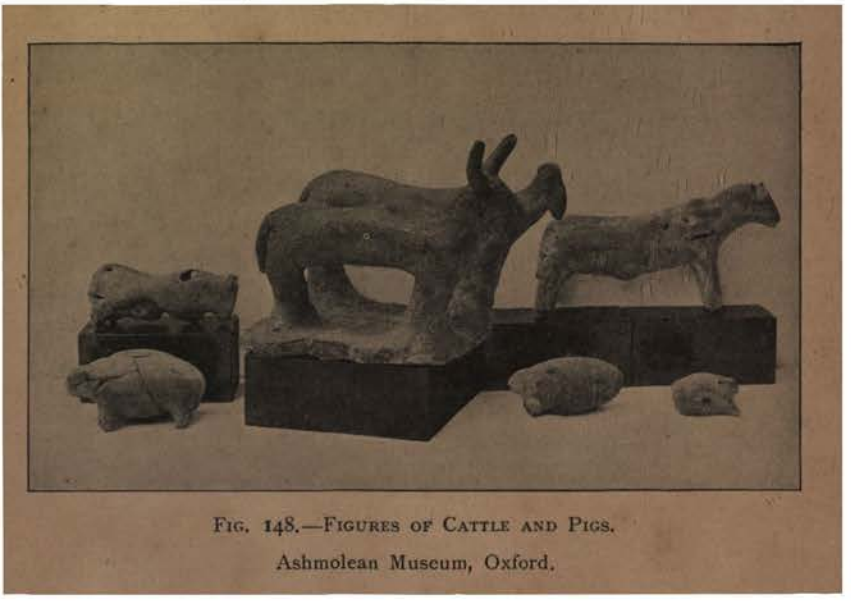


FIG. 148.—FIGURES OF CATTLE AND PIGS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

the animal intended to be represented[2] (Fig. 148) cannot always be identified with certainty. Two pieces—one in ivory, the other in glazed pottery—represent a calf lying down, with the four feet bound together.[3]

We will rapidly pass in review the representations of the

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. ix. 1-3, 6, 9, 10, and p. 41. MACIVER, *A Prehistoric Cemetery at El Amrah in Egypt: Preliminary Report of Excavations*, in *Man*, 1901, No. 40, p. 51, and fig. 2, p. 50.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. vi. B 109 (?). *Abydos*, i. pl. liii., 40-42, and p. 26; pl. vi. 63, and p. 25; pl. ix. 204, and p. 27 (ivory calf).

[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxi. 5 = xxii. 7 (glazed pottery). PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 30, and p. 24 (ivory, hollowed in form of a flat dial, similar to pieces of the eighteenth dynasty and later).

pig[1] (Fig. 148), the jackal,[2] the antelope,[3] the bear,[4] the hare,[5] and, finally, of the camel, which up to the present has been considered an animal introduced into Egypt at a very recent period.[6]

Two camels' heads were discovered at Abydos and Hierakonpolis, in terracotta, where the characteristic movement of the lower lip leaves no doubt as to its identity (Fig. 149).

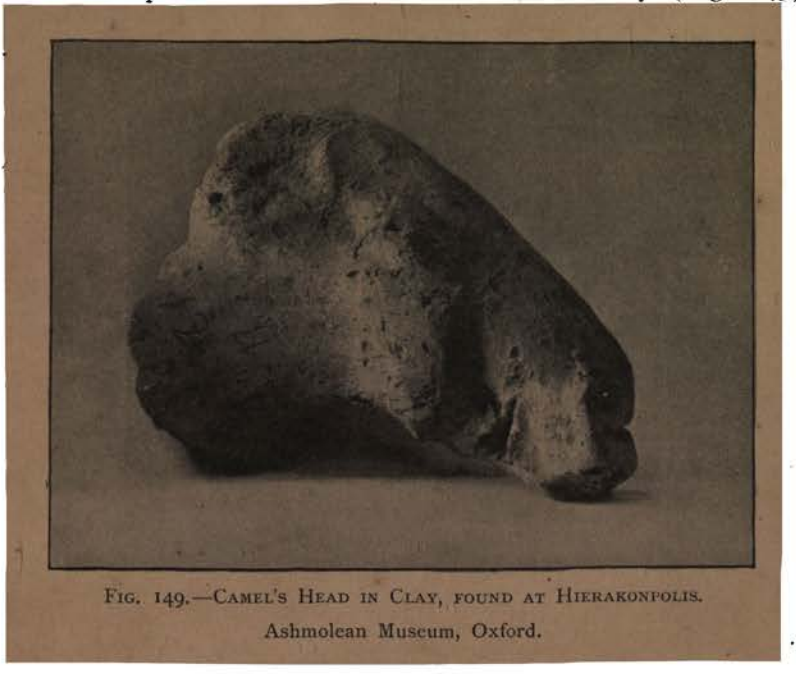


FIG. 149.—CAMEL'S HEAD IN CLAY, FOUND AT HIERAKONPOLIS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The camel must, therefore, have been introduced into Egypt at the commencement of the historical era, only to disappear

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. ix. 4 (?). PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. vi. 66, and p. 25. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxi. 7 = xxii. 8, and p. 8; ii. and p. 39.

[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xx. 12, and p. 8 (dog ?); ii. p. 39 (hyena ?).

[3] *Ib.*, i. pl. xxi. 13, xxii. 13, 17, and p. 8; ii. p. 39.

[4] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. ii. 15, and p. 24. M. F. de Zeltner writes to me on this subject: "L'ours ne semble avoir jamais existé (en Afrique) que dans les montagnes de l'Atlas, ou il n'est d'ailleurs pas éteint, quoique très rare."

[5] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. vii. lx. 17, and pp. 14, 35.

[6] See, for the latter view, VON BISSING, *Zur Geschichte des Kamels*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxviii. 1900, pp. 68, 69. To the books referred to by the author must be added, *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, first series, No. 14, 1875-8, pp. 57, 61, 62.

promptly, leaving practically no trace. According to the theory of M. Zippelius, it appears that it was the same with the horse.[1]

Small figures of birds make their appearance with the commencement of the primitive period. The specimens discovered are in quartz, glazed pottery, stone, bone, and lead.[2] The hawk is the most frequently represented, without feet, as though it were mummified, in the position so often found on Egyptian monuments, more especially on the stelæ of Hierakonpolis.[3] A fair number have been discovered at Hierakonpolis[4] and Abydos.[5] The feet are occasionally folded back under the body, as in the limestone figure found at Koptos, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[6] These representations appear to have been little modified during the first dynasties, to judge by the models of birds found at Medum, in the temple of the pyramid of Sneferu, which Petrie attributed, even at the time of their discovery, to a very remote age.[7] Does this indicate that they were copied from a fixed type, and that the artist did not venture to depart from the model? The proof appears to

[1] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxii. 2, and p. 49, where it is considered as the head of an ass. PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. x. 224, and pp. 27, 49 (read Zippelius instead of Zippelin). ZIPPELIUS, *Das Pferd im Pharaonenlande*, in the *Zeitschrift für Pferdekunde und Pferdezucht* (Würzburg), xvii. 1900, pp. 125-127, 133-135, 142-144, 149-151.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lx. 14, 15, 18-20, and p. 46 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, with the exception of 20, which is at University College, London). *Diospolis*, p. 26.

[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xlvi. 7, 11.

[4] *Ib.*, i. pl. xxi. 14, xxii. 14, 15. QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xxiii. (beads of glazed pottery in form of birds).

[5] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. liii. 6 (limestone); ii. pl. vii. 79-83 (glazed pottery), 84 (quartz); pl. ix. 198 (?), 199 (limestone); the base is hollowed to allow of the figure being placed on a staff or at the top of a standard. See p. 27; xi. 242 (glazed pottery). See also PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. vii. (no precise description in the text). There is a specimen of uncertain provenance in the MacGregor Collection (No. 3,813), and three others of unusual dimensions in the Randolph Berens Collection, deposited at the South Kensington Museum.

[6] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pl. v. 6, and p. 7.

[7] PETRIE, *Medum*, London, 1892, pl. xxix. 1-5, and p. 9, 35: "Glazing of No. 3, a clear light purplish blue, with dark purple stripes, is also early, and cannot be of the eighteenth dynasty, nor hardly of the twelfth. I think probably, therefore, that these are contemporary with the decease of Sneferu, and the oldest small figures known" (1892).

be found in a small figure from Hierakonpolis,[1] which shows the admirable way in which the hawk was represented when the artists were not forced to adhere closely to a model.

Finally, the excavations at Hierakonpolis yielded a statuette, which is unique, of a pelican, or perhaps a turkey, in glazed pottery[2] (Fig. 150).

In the great tomb at Naqada M. de Morgan discovered a series of fish in ivory, pierced at the mouth for suspension. On

FIG. 150.—FIGURES OF BIRDS AND OF GRIFFINS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and University College, London.

several examples lines are carefully inscribed on the surface to supply the details.[3] Another fish in glazed pottery comes from Hierakonpolis.[4] The same excavations have also contributed the model of a basket in steatite decorated with fish,[5] and from

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 5 (schist), p. 7 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); ii. p. 38: "Found in the temple, but *not* in main deposit, it is doubtless of later date than the rest, and has been put in this place by error, as a fragment of a diorite bowl with the name of Khufu incised. . . ."

[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxi. 15, xxii. 16, and p. 8.

[3] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. figs. 701-713, and p. 193. CAPART, *Notes sur les origines de l'Égypte d'après les fouilles récentes*, in the *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, iv. 1898-9, p. 128, note 4 and fig. (separate reprint, p. 28). A similar fragment was discovered at Abydos. PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. iii. *a*, 10, and p. 21.

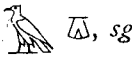
[4] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxi. 16, xxii. 18.

[5] *Ib.* i. pl. xix. 2 = xx. 7, and p. 8.

the excavations at Abydos come figures of crocodiles in glazed pottery.[1]

Figures of scorpions in carnelian are frequently found at the close of the primitive period (sequence dates 70-80)[2]; they were found in large numbers in the temple of Hierakonpolis, and are made in various materials—serpentine, rock crystal, hæmatite, and glazed pottery[3] (Fig. 151).

Figures of frogs are found, commencing at the primitive period.[4] They are of frequent occurrence at Hierakonpolis[5] and Abydos,[6] both in stone and in glazed pottery (Fig. 151).

In conclusion, we must mention a curious figure of a feline creature with a bird's head, discovered at Naqada.[7] A similar specimen is at University College, London; the body of the animal is ornamented with two gold bands. This may be identified with the weird animal or  , *sga* or *sag*, which in the twelfth dynasty was still represented by the Egyptians in hunting scenes[8] (Fig. 150).

A fair number of these animal figures are pierced for suspension, admitting the supposition that they were used as amulets. We have already seen in Chapter III. that several schist palettes of animal form present the same characteristic. We will, therefore, now admit provisionally that several of these figures had either a magical or a religious purpose. Amulets of this description, representing crocodiles, frogs, fish, birds, scorpions,

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. vi. 74-76, and p. 25; *Diospolis*, p. 26, figures a crocodile in serpentine, sequence date 52.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, p. 27, and pl. iv.

[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 5 (serpentine), 16 (crystal), 22; xix. 5 = xx. 10 (hæmatite); xxi. 4 = xxii. 4 (glazed pottery);—ii. pl. xxiii. (glazed beads); xxxii. (hæmatite).

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lviii.; *Diospolis*, p. 26 (sequence date 65).

[5] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xviii. 10, 11, 14.

[6] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. vi. 72 (glazed pottery); x. 214 (glazed pottery); xi. 240, 245 (glazed pottery). Several stone specimens in the Petrie Collection, University College, London, and three examples in the Randolph Berens Collection, deposited at South Kensington Museum.

[7] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lx. 13.

[8] CHABAS, *Études sur l'antiquité historique*, Paris, 1873, pp. 399-400. MASPERO, *Lectures historiques: Histoire ancienne*, Paris, 1892, pp. 116, 117, and fig. 67.

jackals, lions, etc., are found among the antiquities of classical Egypt.

As we are speaking of amulets, I will quote what Dr. Petrie has said with regard to a class of objects which are in the form of bulls' heads: "The oldest form of amulet found is the bull's head. . . . The origin of this form was a puzzle until an example was found at Abydos, on which the flat front and

FIG. 151.—FIGURES OF FROGS AND OF SCORPIONS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and University College, London.

muzzle form of the lower end left no doubt that it must be copied from a bull. It begins at sequence date 46, or earlier, and continues in use till sequence date 67, when it is very degraded. A form, apparently continued from this, is found in blue marble with beads of the twelfth dynasty, so it may even have lasted on as late. But the connection with the bull's head had disappeared early, while the idea of such an amulet seems to have continued, as we find well-made bull's head amulets

of carnelian at about the close of the prehistoric [era], and such continued to be used in the fifth and sixth dynasties, gradually dwindling in size." Dr. Petrie compares with this fact the painted skulls of bulls discovered in the "pan graves," and continues: "Looking to the West, we find bronze bull's head amulets in Spain, and large bronze bulls' heads to hang up on buildings in Majorca (*Revue archéologique*, 1897, 138). Gold bull's head amulets are found in Cyprus and Mykenae, and at present cows' skulls are hung on houses in Malta, and fruit trees in Sicily and Algiers, to avert the evil eye. The whole subject of bucrania is opened by these prehistoric bull's head amulets."[1]

FIG. 152.—BULL'S HEAD AMULET IN IVORY.
Berlin Museum.

A very fine specimen in ivory belonging to the Berlin Museum (No. 14,964) shows clearly that it is intended for a bull's head (Fig. 152).

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, p. 26; *Naqada*, pl. lviii.; *Prehistoric Egyptian Carvings*, in *Man*, 1902, No. 14, p. 17, pl. B, 8-16; *Abydos*, i. pl. li. 4, 5, and p. 23; ii. pl. xiv. 281, and p. 30. SCHAEFER, *Neue Altertümer der "new race" aus Negadah*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, fig. 6, p. 180. On the subject of bucrania in Egypt see WIEDEMANN, *Zu Petrie's neuen Funden*, in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, ii. 1899, col. 182-184; *Compte rendu de Hierakonpolis*, i. *ib.* col. 331. GOLENISCHEFF, *Lettre à M. G. Maspero sur trois petites trouvailles égyptologiques*, in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xi. 1889, p. 98. LEFÉBURE, *Les Huttes de Cham*, in the *Museon*, xvii. 1898, p. 350 *et seq.*; *Rites égyptiens: Construction et protection des édifices* (*Publications de l'École des lettres d'Alger: Bulletin de correspondance africaine*), Paris, 1890, p. 20 *et seq.* NAVILLE, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II. in the great temple of Bubastis*, London, 1892, pl. ix. 9, and p. 21. DARESSY, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire; Ostraca*, pl. v. No. 25,019 (revers), and p. 5. MASPERO, *La Pyramide du roi Ounas*, in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, iv. 1883, p. 48, line 423; and the variants in *La Pyramide du roi Teti*, *ib.* v. 1884, p. 29, line 242. CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xliii. 1901, pp. 252, 253 (separate reprint, pp. 4, 5).

These bull's head amulets bear sufficient resemblance in their general aspect to a Mykenean ornament, to render it interesting to note the analogy[1] (Fig. 153).

European prehistoric remains have furnished a large number of figures representing "animals back to back, with the bodies united at the croup, so as to present the appearance of a single body terminated by two heads, forming a pendant."[2]

Most frequently these are small bronze pendants, formed of

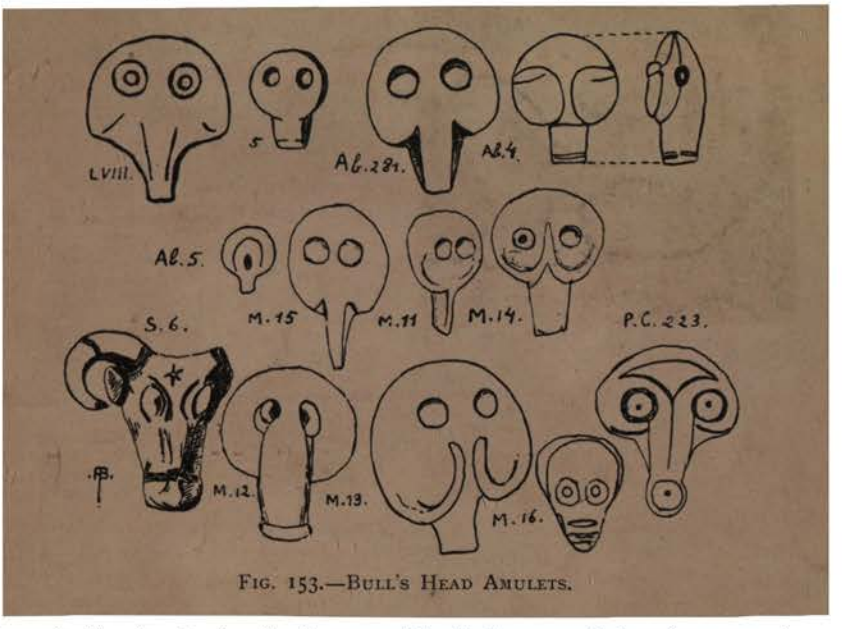


FIG. 153.—BULL'S HEAD AMULETS.

two bulls, back to back; as M. Salomon Reinach remarks, there is scarcely an important museum which does not possess some of them. Similar figures are also found in primitive Egypt, more especially on the cylinders. They will be found in our Fig. 114 (M 560), and also upon a palette with figures in relief which we shall deal with later. The Hilton Price Collection, London, includes three curious ivories representing these double bulls, where the feet are not indicated. Like some of the

[1] PERROT & CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vi., *La Grèce primitive, l'art mycénien*, fig. 223, p. 546.

[2] REINACH, S., *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines*, pp. 113-115, and figs. 320-327.

European figures, they have a tenon in the middle of the back to permit of their being suspended[1] (Fig. 154).

In certain tombs of the earliest primitive period, between the sequence dates 33 and 44, there is found a pair of ivory horns or tusks. One is always solid, the other hollow. They are

FIG. 154.—DOUBLE BULL'S HEAD AMULETS.
Hilton Price Collection.

sometimes quite undecorated, ending in a point,[2] and pierced at that end for suspension; sometimes at the pointed end there is a groove and ring. In this case there are two eyes, and lines indicating a beard engraved on the surface of the horn; in some

[1] HILTON PRICE, *Some Ivories from Abydos*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xxii. 1900, p. 160 and plate. The block of our Fig. 154 has been lent by the kindness of the Society of Biblical Archæology.

[2] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, p. 21. MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. vii. 2, and p. 48.

instances the eyes are represented by beads.[1] Occasionally, also, and this is the most interesting form, the horns terminate in a human head, worked with care. On the top of the head there is a ring for suspension[2] (Fig. 155).

The precise purpose of these objects is difficult to determine.

FIG. 155.—MAGICAL INSTRUMENTS (?) IN IVORY.
University College, London, and Ashmolean Museum.

Dr. Petrie supposes that they formed part of the equipment of a sorcerer, or medicine man. The horns remind him of the belief of the negroes of the Gold Coast, who imagine that white men can by enchantment catch the souls of the natives in horns,

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. lxi. 34, 35; pl. lxiv. 81, and pp. 19, 21, 47.

[2] HILTON PRICE, *Two objects from prehistoric tombs*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxvii. 1899, p. 47 and fig. *Notes upon some Predynastic and Early Dynastic Antiquities from Egypt in the writer's collection*, in *Archæologia*, lvi. 1899 (separate reprint, p. 2, and fig. 1).

and convey them thus to their own country to make them toil for them.[1] In the Congo certain negroes believe that the sorcerers can gain possession of human souls, enclose them in ivory horns, and sell them to the white men, who make them work in their country on the sea coast. They imagine that a large number of labourers at the coast are men who have been procured in this manner. When one of the natives goes there for purposes of commerce, he frequently searches anxiously for his dead relations. The man whose soul is thus given over to slavery will die rapidly or instantaneously.[2]

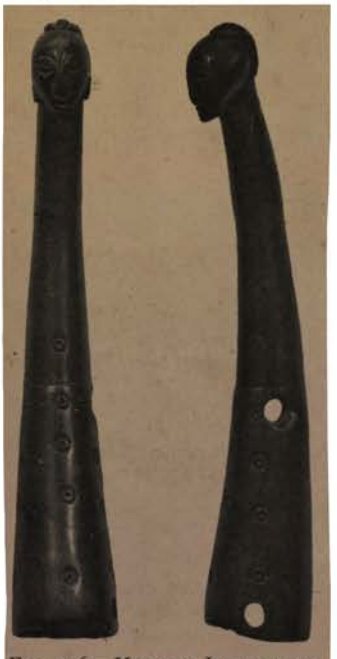


FIG. 156.—MAGICAL INSTRUMENT MADE OF HORN, FROM KATANGA. University College, London.

I would gladly connect with this belief the custom observed by Alice Werner in British Central Africa. An old woman carried round her neck a hollow ivory ornament, about 3 inches in length and in the form of a round peg, pointed at the top, with a slight groove by which it could be suspended. This object, which exactly corresponds to the Egyptian ivories, was called by this woman her life, or her soul. Naturally, she would not part with it; a colonist tried in vain to buy it of her.[3]

This interesting ethnological comparison appears to be confirmed by an object said to come from Katanga, which I have recently had the good fortune to acquire (Fig. 156). The magic instrument is made of horn; the patina which covers it, as well as the deep grooving formed by long use in the suspension holes, indicate that it dates back a very considerable number of years. It is now at University College, London.

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 47; *Diospolis*, p. 21.
[2] FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed. i. p. 279.
[3] *Ib.*, 2nd. ed. iii. p. 407, note 4.

Certain of the prehistoric tombs of Naqada contain clay models of boats, sometimes decorated with paintings (Fig. 157). We have already seen that one of these boats was painted in an unsophisticated fashion on the edge with small human figures representing rowers.[1] The crew was also represented at times by small clay figures[2] (Fig. 158). According to Professor Petrie, these paintings show that they were not intended to represent boats built of wood, but those made of

FIG. 157.—MODELS OF BOATS IN CLAY AND IVORY.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

reeds or papyri tightly bound together, such as were in use throughout the whole of the historical period in Egypt.[3] A specimen in alabaster, from the royal tombs of Abydos, distinctly shows this method of construction.[4]

Similar boats have been discovered in the excavations at

[1] PETRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxvi. 80, 81 *a* and *b*, and pp. 13, 41 ; pl. lxvi. 1, and p. 48. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. p. 91, figs. 235-237, p. 90.

[2] SCHAEFER, *Neue Altertümer der "new race" aus Negadah*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, xxxiv. 1896, pp. 159, 161, fig.

[3] ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 479 *et seq.*

[4] PETRIE, *Abydos*, i. pl. ix. 4.

El Amrah[1] and at Abydos.[2] They also occur frequently in the great find of ivories at Hierakonpolis. The shape of one of these specimens strangely recalls the Venetian gondola[3] (Fig. 157). The presence at these various sites of boats in clay and ivory is of very great importance. We shall have occasion to refer to it again, more in detail.

A clay model of a house, discovered at El Amrah, gives us an idea of the habitations of the primitive Egyptians, and

FIG. 158.—POTTERY BOAT WITH FIGURES OF MEN.
Berlin Museum.

shows that they were made of beaten mud, probably covered with strips of palm wood imbedded in clay—wattle and mud. A door is inserted in the wall at one end, and at the other end are two windows; the door already shows the principal characteristics of the door-shaped stelæ of the Ancient Empire[4] (Fig. 159).

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. ix. 8, and p. 41.

[2] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. iii. 20, and p. 24 (ivory); vii. 89, 90, and p. 26 (glazed pottery).

[3] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. v. and p. 6.

[4] MACIVER, *A Prehistoric Cemetery at El Amrah in Egypt: Preliminary Report of Excavations*, in *Man*, 1901, No. 40, p. 51, and fig. 1, p. 50. MACIVER &

A tomb discovered at Diospolis contained fragments of a model of a fortified enclosure, with figures of two men looking over the wall[1] (Fig. 160).

We have now completed our examination of the principal pieces carved in the round, and we should proceed to study the primitive drawing and painting. We must, however, not

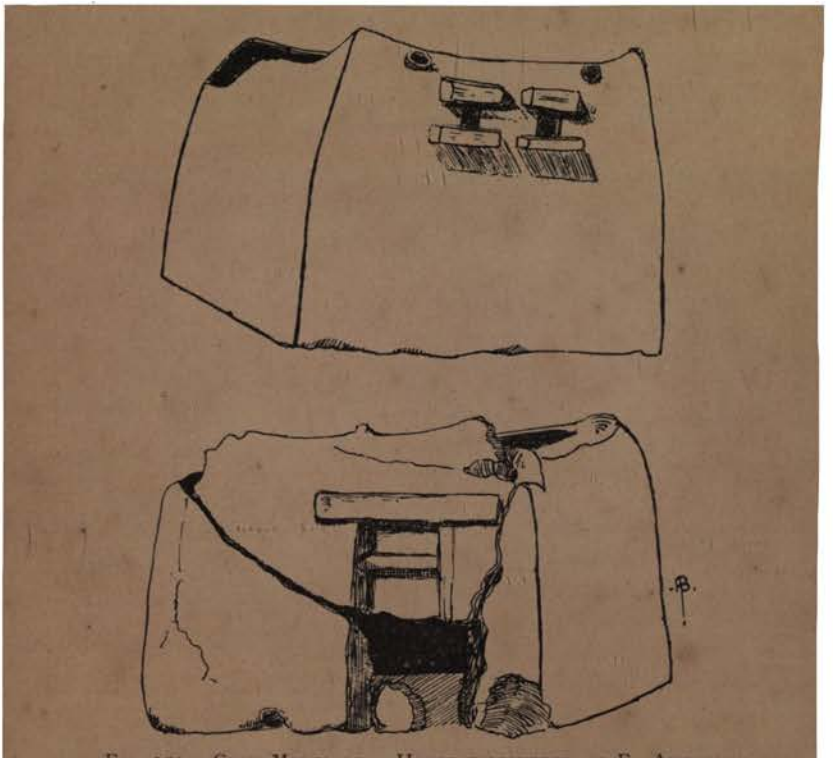


FIG. 159.—CLAY MODEL OF A HOUSE DISCOVERED AT EL AMRAH.

omit to mention the carvings in low relief described in the chapter on ornamental art—reliefs on the slate palettes, on handles of knives, on fragments of furniture, and on vases in pottery and stone. We shall see in the following chapter that

MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pl. x. 1-3, and p. 42. See, on the houses of the primitive age, PETRIE, *The Sources and Growth of Architecture*, in the *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, third series, viii. 1901, pp. 341-343, and figs. 1-4.

[1] PETRIE, *Diospolis*, pl. vi. B 83, and p. 32 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

this art developed greatly at the commencement of the historical period, and that it produced masterpieces of extraordinary power.

The primitive drawings and paintings are to a large extent already known to us. We have met with them in personal decoration, on the slate palettes, on the vases, and principally upon the pottery. In this chapter it only remains for us to examine two classes of drawings, the graffiti engraved on the rocks and the paintings of a prehistoric tomb discovered by Mr. Green not far from Hierakonpolis.

Upon the rocks of the Arabian and Libyan mountains

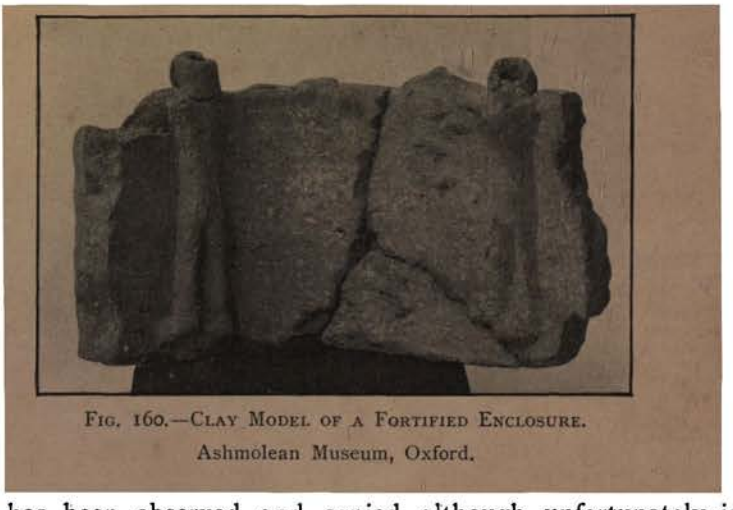


FIG. 160.—CLAY MODEL OF A FORTIFIED ENCLOSURE.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

there has been observed and copied, although unfortunately in a very incomplete fashion, a series of drawings of men, animals, and boats in a style identical with that of the pottery marks and the paintings on decorated pottery.[1] This has led to the legitimate

[1] WIEDEMANN, *Les modes d'ensevelissement dans la nécropole de Négadah et la question de l'origine du peuple égyptien*, in DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, ii. p. 222, and note 1, where the following works are quoted :—DE MORGAN, *loc. cit.* i. p. 162 *et seq.* and figs. 487-492. GOLENISCHEFF, *Une excursion à Bérénice*, in the *Recueil des travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xiii. 1890, pl. iv. 17, pl. vii. 62. PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging*, 1881-91, London, 2nd ed. 1893, p. 75, fig. 57 : "To judge by the weathering of the rock, it seems probable that they were begun here long before any of the monuments of Egypt that we know. The usual figures are of men, horses, and boats, but there are also camels, ostriches, and elephants to be seen."

conclusion that they also belong to the primitive age. These drawings are frequently mixed with representations accompanied by hieroglyphic inscriptions, and in some cases it is extremely difficult to establish a clear line of demarcation between the primitive graffiti and those of more recent date.[1] In some cases, however, there is no possible doubt. I must quote as specially noteworthy in this respect some graffiti copied by M. Legrain at Gebel-Hetematt,[2] which closely resemble those at Silsileh noticed by Dr. Petrie.[3]

The most important graffiti, which appear to me to belong to the primitive period, will be found in Fig. 161. Their analogy with the pottery marks in Fig. 111 is particularly remarkable. Some of these animal figures are arranged in squares, as on the red pottery with white paintings. Certain curious representations may perhaps indicate the use of the horse. This remark should be taken in conjunction with the theory of M. Zippelius, to which we have recently alluded.

One of these graffiti merits special notice. A man is apparently thrusting a harpoon into an animal's hide, which seems to be stretched on the ground, with another harpoon already fixed in it. In this representation I see an analogy with that of an ivory tablet discovered in the tomb of King Den Setui, of the first dynasty.[4]

In Wady Hammamat, the great road which connects the Nile Valley with the coast of the Red Sea, M. Golenischeff has noted several graffiti which also seem to belong to the primitive period, notably representations of the ostrich, and even

[1] The primitive graffiti can be distinguished from those of the historic period by the patina which covers them. See SCHWEINFURTH, G., *Aegyptische Tierbilder als Kieselartefakte*, in *Die Umschau*, vii. 1903, p. 806: "Diese Tierbilder versetzen uns im Geiste in jene Zeiten, da die Urbewohner von Aegypten und Nordwestafrika ähnliche Zeichnungen in die Felswände einkratzten, die in den Sandsteintälern Oberägyptens häufig angetroffen werden und von deren hohem Alter die bräunliche Patina Zeugnis ablegt, mit der die Linien bedeckt erscheinen, während datierte Inschriften aus der Zeit der 5. und 6. Dynastie (bei el Qab), die z. T. über die älteren hinweg eingeritzt wurden, aussehen als wären sie von gestern, wie Prof. Sayce bezeugen kann."

[2] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte*, i. fig. 487, p. 162.

[3] PETRIE, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, p. 75, fig. 57.

[4] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. vii. 11; *Abydos*, i. pl. xi. 8.

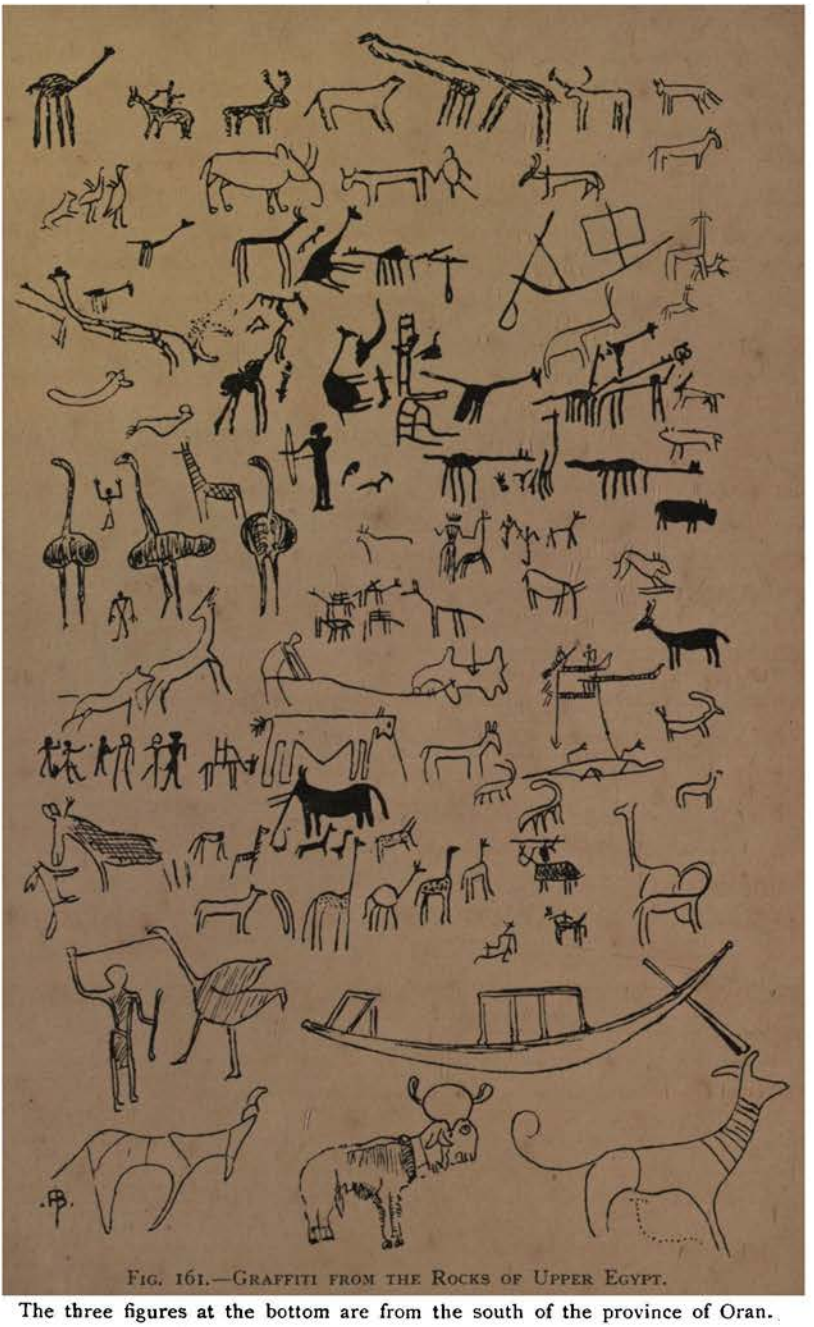


FIG. 161.—GRAFFITI FROM THE ROCKS OF UPPER EGYPT.

The three figures at the bottom are from the south of the province of Oran.

of a man lassoing an ostrich. We must also mention a boat which occurs here, although it is not absolutely identical with the primitive boats, and it should perhaps be attributed to the Ancient Empire.[1] The quarries of Silsileh have also furnished a large number of similar graffiti, personages, ships, animals, etc.[2] In conclusion, we must mention the graffiti of El Kab, and more especially of a boat which is an exact counterpart of those of the tomb of Hierakonpolis, which we shall presently consider.[3]

It is scarcely necessary to mention that similar graffiti have been found among peoples differing widely from each other; among the Australians,[4] the Bushmen,[5] and even in the French prehistoric graves.[6] A most striking resemblance exists between the Egyptian graffiti and those in the south of the province of Oran; here the identity is almost absolute. The comparison, when extended to the designs engraved on the vases (Fig. 111), is exceedingly striking, and we find here a new proof of the close connection between the primitive Egyptians and the Libyans.[7]

M. Zaborowski has attempted to demonstrate that these graffiti constitute "the embryonic forms" of hieroglyphic writing.[8] What we have already said on the subject of primitive hieroglyphs will

[1] GOLENISCHEFF, *Inscriptions du Ouady Hammamat*, in the *Mémoires de la Section orientale de la Société impériale russe d'archéologie* (in Russian), ii. 1887, pl. v. 1-3, pl. xiii.

[2] *Antiquities in Egypt: Prehistoric Rock Drawings*, in the *Graphic*, January 1st, 1898, fig. 7, with four photos.

[3] GREEN, *Prehistoric Drawings at El Kab*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xxv. 1903, pp. 371, 372, with pl. and fig.

[4] GROSSE, *Les Débuts de l'Art*, pp. 125 *et seq.*

[5] GROSSE, *ib.* p. 138 *et seq.* and pl. iii. CHRISTOLL, FRED., *Au sud de l'Afrique*, Paris, 1897, *Compte rendu* in *l'Anthropologie*, xi. 1900, p. 78 *et seq.*

[6] See, among others, L. CAPITAN, L. & H. BREUIL, *Les gravures sur les parois des grottes préhistoriques, la grotte de Combarelles*, in the *Revue de l'École d'anthropologie de Paris*, xii. 1902, pp. 33-46.

[7] BONNET, *Les gravures sur roches du sud Oranais*, in the *Revue d'ethnographie*, viii. 1889, pp. 149-158 and fig. Compare fig. 6 with our Fig. 111; p. 155: "Quelques personnages ont les bras levés dans l'attitude de l'admiration ou de la prière. GSELL, *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, i. Paris, 1901, pp. 41-54, and figs. 10-14. The ram bearing the disc on his head, fig. 13, p. 46, may be compared to our Fig. 111, Am 19.

[8] ZABOROWSKI, *Origines africaines de la civilisation de l'ancienne Égypte*, in the *Revue scientifique*, fourth series, xi. 1899, pp. 293, 294.

probably be sufficient to show how small a foundation there is for such an explanation.

The graffiti, moreover, the earliest of which may probably date back to palæolithic times, show points of resemblance with the pottery marks, which, as we have already seen, are more especially met with on the vases of the black topped, and of the red polished pottery. It is, however, with the scenes on the decorated pottery that we should compare the paintings in the prehistoric tomb discovered in 1899 by Mr. Green at Hierakonpolis.[1] In the course of the second season of excavations in this locality, a workman living in the neighbourhood reported that, at the extreme south-east of the prehistoric cemetery, there were walls with traces of painting. The tomb had unhappily been pillaged two or three years previously, but it nevertheless contained sufficient pottery, which had been judged valueless by the pillagers, to render it possible to date the tomb, approximately at least, to sequence date 63.[2]

The tomb was entirely constructed of bricks, plastered over with mud mortar, 5 millimetres thick. The walls were finally washed over with yellow ochre or whitewash. Some of these walls were decorated, and at the present time one of the sides, happily the longest, has retained its decoration in fairly good condition.[3] The lower part was painted blue-black to a height of about 27 centimetres. This lower part was separated from the scenes by a line of red ochre, of a width of about 2 centimetres. The task of copying these invaluable representations was extremely difficult, the wall being damaged by the action of time and by pillagers, and we cannot be sufficiently grateful to Mr. Green for the care which he brought to the execution of the work.

His work in various places was rendered more difficult by the primitive artist, who, having made his sketch in red, had sometimes effaced it, and in doing so stained with red the yellow ground, on which he once more drew the figure. After an attentive study of all the details, Mr. Green came to the very

[1] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. p. 20 *et seq.* pl. lxxv.-lxxviii.
[2] *Ib.* ii. p. 54; note, by Professor Petrie.
[3] *Ib.* p. 21, pl. lxviii.

important conclusion that the artist apparently did not attempt to arrange his figures in any definite order; the different scenes are inserted where he found room to place them, after finishing the larger objects, such as the ships.

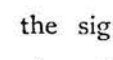
We will now examine these representations somewhat closely (Figs. 162, 163). The first objects which strike us are the six large boats which occupy the greater part of the space, and which remind us of the boats on the decorated pottery, and also of the terracotta models which we have already described. The difference which distinguishes these boats from those painted on the vases is that we see no more of the parallel lines which start from the lower edge and descend vertically. At the bows we notice the cable for tying up the boat; on the deck some palm branches cast a shade over a small erection. In the centre two slight constructions serve as cabins. On one of the drawings the hinder cabin is seen surmounted by a post, a kind of small mast, to which emblems are attached. This is also met with on the drawings of boats on the decorated pottery. In the stern of one of these boats a man is seated, working a long oar, ending in an oval blade, which acts as rudder.

As we have hitherto studied all the objects relating to boats, we may refer to a very serious objection which has been raised on this subject, and which, I think, is refuted by successive discoveries.

Basing his remarks on the drawings of boats on the decorated pottery published by M. de Morgan and Dr. Petrie, and also on the specimens at the British Museum and at the Ashmolean Museum, M. Cecil Torr considered that "the long curved lines, which have been considered as representing ships, are in reality indications of a rampart; that the straight shorter lines, the so-called oars, indicate a species of glacis; that the gap which can be observed in this row indicates the approach to the rampart; and, finally, that the objects considered as cabins are in reality small towers placed on the two sides of the entrance to the rampart."[1]

M. Loret has resumed M. Cecil Torr's arguments, but modifying

[1] CECIL TORR, *Sur quelques prétendus navires égyptiens*, in *l'Anthropologie*, ix. 1898, p. 35.

his conclusions to some extent. "I believe," he says, "that these so-called vessels represent, with less dexterity in the drawing and greater awkwardness in the perspective, the same thing as the sign  . The curve represents part of the circumference of the *Kôm*[1]—all that a spectator facing it would be able to view at one glance; the lines are intended for a palisade, interrupted in front of a gateway, which opens between two fortified buildings. The presence of the palms on the slope

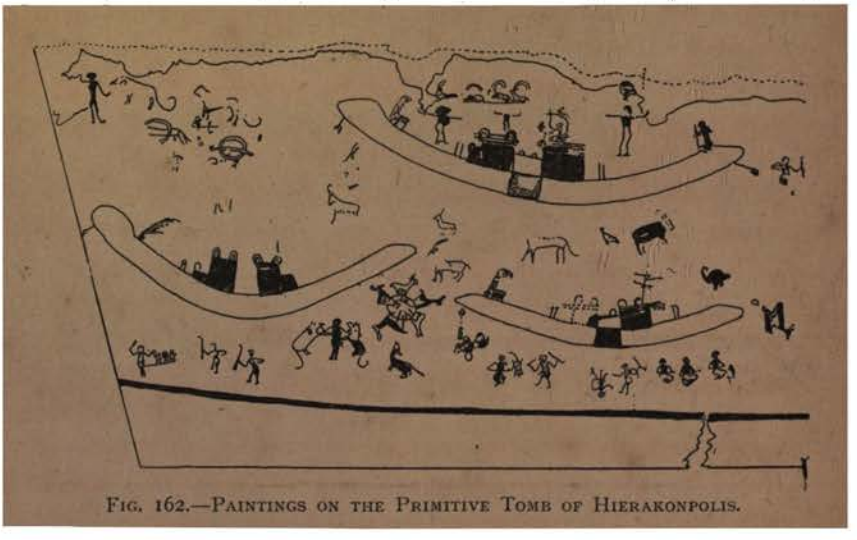


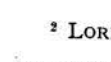
FIG. 162.—PAINTINGS ON THE PRIMITIVE TOMB OF HIERAKONPOLIS.

are accounted for quite naturally, and also the standard bearing the emblem or *totem* of the tribe inhabiting the Kôm."[2]

Some of the arguments employed by these scholars are of great importance. It is very desirable to mention them here, in order to refute them as far as possible.

To begin with, there is one fact important to note. It is the discovery of a drawing on a vase of a sailing vessel (Fig. 91), the general form of which resembles closely one of the representations of the Hierakonpolis tomb.[3]

[1] *Kôm* or *Tell*: mound, hillock.

[2] LORET, *Le mot*  , Paris, 1902, p. 7.—Extract from the *Revue Égyptologique*, x.

[3] Compare the hieroglyph of the boat in LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 18, where

Torr and Loret object that, although gazelles and ostriches are found above and below these so-called vessels, fish and aquatic animals are never represented.

On this point it is only necessary to refer to our Figs. 84 and 93, where the boats are surrounded by hippopotami, crocodiles, and fish.

"Rowers are never seen figured," they say, "and the vertical or oblique lines, if they represent oars, should start from the upper line of the hull, and not from the lower part."

The oarsmen, in fact, are not represented; but as we have just said, on one of the boats in the Hierakonpolis tomb, there is a

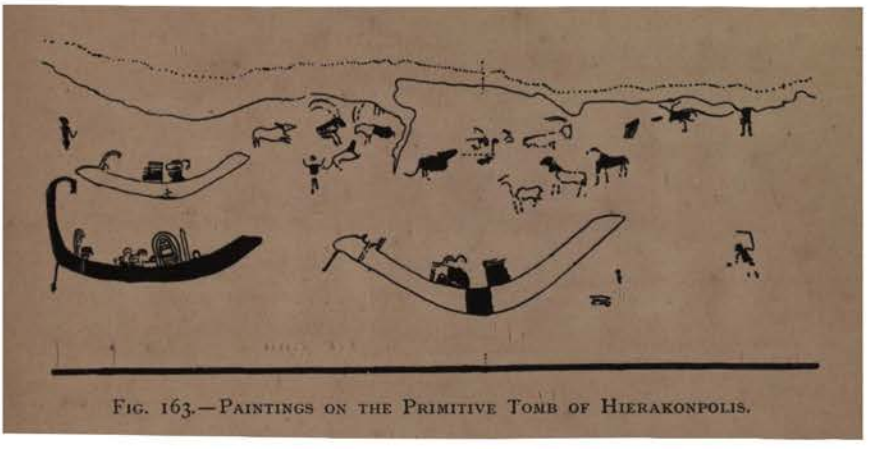


FIG. 163.—PAINTINGS ON THE PRIMITIVE TOMB OF HIERAKONPOLIS.

sailor managing the rudder. Again, it may be admitted, without in any way disproving the identification of these drawings, that the vertical lines are not oars. Even at that date M. de Morgan was inclined to consider them rather as fishing tackle.[1]

An argument of far greater importance is supplied by Dr. Petrie, who has found these same lines in Egyptian representations, where it is impossible to doubt that they are intended to represent a ship. In fact, in one of the halls of the temple of Seti I., at Abydos, there is a very careful drawing of the bark of the god Sokaris, and the prow, which is very high, is

the prow rises well above the cabin. See STEINDORFF, *Eine neue Art ägyptischer Kunst*, in *Aegyptiaca, Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, p. 125.

[1] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. p. 91.

actually decorated with a series of lines recalling those that we find on the primitive boats.[1] It is a curious fact that the sacred bark has three oars with broad blades, acting as rudder, such as is seen on one of the prehistoric representations.[2] The temple of Denderah also presents a bark of the god Sokaris, of later date, where the lines we speak of have almost disappeared.[3] As to the palm branches placed in the bows, they shade the place where the pilot is seated.[4]

With regard to the emblems placed on a post above the cabin, we must agree with Dr. Petrie and M. de Morgan in considering them to be signs indicating either the proprietor of the boat, the tribe, or the port of sailing.[5] Petrie, in this connection, recalls a story told by Strabo of the sign of a ship

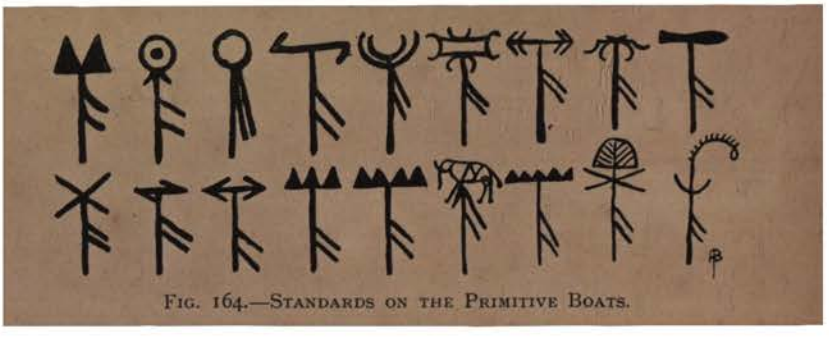


FIG. 164.—STANDARDS ON THE PRIMITIVE BOATS.

lost in the Red Sea; when exposed in the market-place at Alexandria it was recognized by a mariner of Gades (Fig. 164).

In the space unoccupied by the boats various figures are represented, principally relating to hunting wild beasts, which are lassoed, or caught in a trap shaped like a wheel. The trapped animals are gazelles of various kinds (Fig. 165), and this drawing recalls the decoration of a cup discovered by Mr. MacIver at

[1] PETRIE, *Archæological Notes*, in CAULFIELD, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos*, London, 1902, pp. 15, 16, and pl. vi.

[2] See Fig. 91.

[3] MARIETTE, *Denderah*, iv. pl. 64 (after Petrie).

[4] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 48. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 71 *et seq.*, where the question of barks is thoroughly discussed. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. figs. 240-264, and p. 92. The author believes rather that it is intended for the sign of the tribe to which the proprietor of the vessel belongs.

[5] DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. p. 93, and fig. 247-264.

El Amrah, now in the University Museum, Oxford.[1] On the upper part of the wall, to the left, a man brandishing a club attacks a lion (?). Another personage is drawing a bow. Farther on, antelopes of various kinds, which it would be rash to attempt to identify precisely, are scattered here and there, and also birds, one possibly a bustard. It is very tempting to recognize equidæ in the figures on the right; and to do so would be perfectly in accordance with the observations we have already made.

On one of the boats, above the stern cabin, there are two

FIG. 165.—GAZELLES CAUGHT IN A TRAP AND RELIGIOUS (?) REPRESENTATIONS. Painted tomb of Hierakonpolis.

small human figures roughly sketched; above the boat three women are standing, their arms raised in the attitude characteristic of dancing.

The most interesting scenes are depicted under the boats in a line immediately above the painted base of the wall. On the left we see a man holding a cord, which is tied round the necks of three crouching captives, whom he is preparing to smite on the head with his mace. This is an important representation,

[1] MACIVER & MACE, *loc. cit.* pl. xv. 17.

which gives us the prototype of the monuments of the Ancient Empire, such as the bas-reliefs of Wady Magarah or of Sinai, where the king of Egypt brandishes his mace over a vanquished enemy. In front of this group there are two personages, each of whom holds in his hand the sceptre which in the historic age is the attribute of divinities and of the king, and which does not appear in any other capacity, except in the hands of shepherds.[1]

Immediately afterwards one comes to a strange group consisting of a man standing, holding two lions (?) by the neck while they stand on their hind feet. We have already spoken of a similar figured engraved on the ivories discovered in the temple of Hierakonpolis (Fig. 108). It is difficult to avoid recognizing in this group a religious scene, especially when one compares it with analogous representations of the Aegeo-Cretan people.

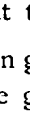
Continuing the examination of the wall to the right, we see an antelope caught by a lasso (the hunter has disappeared); then, a man, who appears to be dismembering with his hands another antelope which is lying on the ground with the feet tied, in the position we know already on the two pieces discovered at Hierakonpolis and Abydos. May we not recognize in this scene the capture of the victim by means of the lasso, as Seti I. depicted it at Abydos,[2] and then the dismemberment of the animal probably before a religious symbol. It is difficult to identify exactly what is the object in front of the man who is sacrificing. I am much inclined to recognize in it the pillar , which would confirm an hypothesis which I put forward in a former work[3] (Fig. 164).

[1] V. SCHEIL, *Tombeaux thébains, le Tombeau d'Apoui*, in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française du Caire*, v. p. 610, and pl. ii.

[2] MARIETTE, *Fouilles exécutées en Égypte, en Nubie et au Soudan*, Paris, 1867, ii. pl. 50. On comparing the text of Unas, 423, and Teti, 242, with these scenes, I am disposed to recognize the *hunting of Apis* quoted on the Palermo stone. See MASPERO, review of PELLEGRINI, *Nota supra una Iscrizione Egizia del Museo di Palermo*, in the *Révue critique*, 1899, p. 4. NAVILLE, *La pierre de Palermo*, in the *Recueil de travaux*, xxv. 1903, p. 71. SCHAEFER, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen*, Berlin, 1902, pp. 21, 23.

[3] CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xliii. 1901, pp. 266, 267. SPIEGELBERG, *Der Stabkultus bei den Aegypten*, in the *Recueil des travaux*, xxv. 1903, p. 190, note 3.

Following this scene of dismemberment we find two groups of combatants, of which we have already given a reproduction (Fig. 26), and three women (?) crouching on the ground.

We would also point out, on another wall of the tomb, two figures of men walking, the style of painting having already progressed. Both carry a staff curved at the top, and also the sceptre  forked at the base.[1]

The information given on the subject of the colours employed is as follows. The ground, as we have already stated, is yellow ochre or white. "The blacks are a blue-black, and do not seem to be pounded charcoal. All the boats, except one, have been painted white, over which a wash of bright green, granular in structure, probably pounded malachite, had been put. The exception is a boat with a high prow and comparatively low stern, which is painted blue-black. The outline of the figures was drawn first in red ochre; the white of the dresses has in many instances overlapped this outline. The eyes were put in with a thick pasty lump of white; the pupil being represented by a blue-black spot on this."[2]

If we attempt to recapitulate, in a few words, the scenes depicted on the paintings and graffiti, we should say that they consist of hunting scenes, of navigation, and possibly, as at Hierakonpolis, of religious scenes. We must remember that on the decorated pottery, independently of the skeuomorphic designs, we have only found representations of similar character.

We may ask why the primitive Egyptian inscribed such scenes on the rocks, on the sides of tombs, and on his earthenware vases? Was he obeying an imperative artistic craving? The question has recently been solved, at least in part, in an important article by M. Salomon Reinach on *L'Art et la magie à propos des peintures et des gravures de l'âge du renne*.[3] The primitive Egyptian culture, we believe, contributes invaluable evidence on this subject, and perhaps it will not be without interest if we linger over it for a short time.

[1] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lxxix.

[2] *Ib.* p. 21.

[3] In *l'Anthropologie*, xiv. 1903, pp. 257-266.

M. Salomon Reinach thus expresses himself on the subject of the art of the cave-men: "To begin with, I have established what has long since been observed, that designs borrowed from the animal world are by far the most numerous; also what appears to me to be new, that the animals represented may be termed exclusively such as are used for food by tribes of hunters and fishermen—these animals being *desirable*, while others which were not thus used may be classed as *undesirable*. These *undesirable animals* include the great feline tribe, such as the lion and tiger, the hyena, jackal, the wolf, and various kinds of snakes, etc. From the establishment of this fact an important deduction is arrived at—the knowledge that the troglodytes, in drawing, in painting, and in sculpture, did not merely seek to occupy their leisure, or to fix their visual memories in order to gain from their companions admiration for their dexterity. The severe choice which presided over their artistic activity implies for this same activity some object less trite than those which have been alleged up to the present. They knew what they were doing and why they did it. They were not idlers and dreamers, inscribing or painting any familiar silhouette, no matter what, following the fancy of the moment."

Availing himself, therefore, of the contributions of ethnology, the French scholar recalls the fundamental principles of magic, as established by Frazer's grand work. In magic, two very simple and logical ideas serve as the basis of all ceremonies, and of all manipulations. The first is that "like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause"; and second, that "things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted."[1] In the first case we have imitative magic; in the second, sympathetic magic. Imitative magic consists in representing a being, an object, or an action with the object of bringing into existence the being or the object which is represented, or to provoke the action which is imitated, perhaps at times independently of sympathetic magic; sympathetic magic, on the contrary, is always combined with imitative magic.

[1] FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, i. p. 9, 2nd ed. 3 vols. 1900.

In the case we are considering the distinction is not easy, as regarded from the point of view of primitive mentality. When we speak of drawing an animal figure in order to bring that animal into existence or to act upon it, we actually believe that we are dealing with imitative magic, while for primitive man there is nothing of the sort. In fact, if the representation has any influence on the being which is represented, it is entirely owing to the fact that this representation is something which has emanated from that being, absolutely as would be the case with his reflection in a mirror or in water. "One of the consequences of this idea is to inspire people holding this belief with a dread of being represented in effigy, a fear which is widespread and which certain forms of religion have taken into account in forbidding the painting or sculpture of the human figure."[1]

These general ideas of the fundamental principles of magic among primitive people need development; but this branch of study would lead us far from our subject. I can only refer to Frazer's work,[2] requesting the reader to forgive my being unable to lay before him more completely the proofs of my assertion.

French primitive man, according to M. Salomon Reinach, must have drawn and inscribed figures of the desirable animals upon the walls of the caverns, with the object of procuring the like, or of multiplying the species. "It is the expression of a very crude but very intense religion, consisting of magic practices having for their sole object the supply of daily food."[3]

An interesting confirmation of this method of viewing the matter has been supplied by the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen among the aboriginal tribes of Central Australia" "These tribes," as M. Reinach relates, "periodically celebrate a ceremony called *intichiuma*, differing according to the various clans, but having the immediate object of multiplying the particular species, whether animal or vegetable, which is the *totem*

[1] REINACH, *La sculpture en Europe avant les influences gréco-romaines*, p. 260. FRAZER, *loc. cit.* i. p. 295-297.

[2] FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, 2nd ed. 3 vols Macmillan, London, 1900.

[3] REINACH, *loc. cit.* p. 265.

of the tribe. Describing the ceremonies of the *emu* clan, they (Spencer and Gillen) state that certain of the clan let their own blood drop on a surface of three square metres until the soil is well impregnated with it. When the blood has dried they take pipe-clay, yellow ochre, and charcoal, and on the area reddened by the blood they paint the sacred image of the *emu* totem with yellow and black circles, which represent the bird's eggs either before or after they are deposited. It is round this figure that the men of the clan come to crouch and sing in chorus, while the chief, or master of the ceremonies, explains the details of the drawings. Having been told the object of these rites, we have an incontestable example of the magic use of a painted image to induce the multiplication of the model."[1]

Sometimes these figures are painted on the sides of rocks in places which are strictly *taboo* for women and children. Among these representations there are animals, human heads, and the imprints of the footsteps of women of the mythological period of Central Australia.[2]

"Certainly," says M. Reinach, "it would be rash to postulate for the troglodytes of the reindeer age totem cults identical with those of the Aruntas of Australia at the present time; but, short of wishing to renounce all attempt at explanation, it is more reasonable to search for analogies among hunting tribes of to-day than among the agricultural people of Gaul or of historic France. Now the representation in the depths of our caves, of animals suitable for food, to the exclusion, as I have already remarked, of carnivora, will clearly show whether the religious condition of the troglodytes was similar to that of the Aruntas, as studied by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen."[3]

Do the primitive Egyptians, with the numerous artistic manifestations that we have studied in the preceding pages, permit us to maintain or to upset this theory? Can we, on

[1] REINACH, *loc. cit.* p. 262.

[2] SPENCER & GILLEN, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, London, 1899, figs. 124 and 132. See, on the subject of the *intichiuma* ceremonies, the work by DURKHEIM, E., *Sur le totémisme*, in the *Année sociologique*, v. 1902, pp. 82-121. *Compte rendu* by S. REINACH in *l'Anthropologie*, xii. 1902, pp. 664-9.

[3] REINACH, *loc. cit.* p. 263.

coming to the close of this chapter, say that the representations of the primitive Egyptians "will clearly prove whether their religious condition was similar to that of the Aruntas"?

The patina which covers the graffiti of the rocks of Upper Egypt testifies to the remote age to which they must be attributed. As we have already said, animals and boats are most frequently found represented. Their object was to ensure success to the primitive hunting, and also possibly to supply the tribe with a numerous flotilla for fishing, or even for warlike expeditions. The tribes of nomad hunters could easily transport themselves to fresh localities in the Nile Valley, if they were in possession of a flotilla. These boats possibly had also a religious object, and were used in magical ceremonies.[1]

It should be remembered, with reference to this subject, that the Egyptian divinities are frequently represented in barks, and that the sacred barks play an important part in Egyptian

[1] See the curious article by SALOMON REINACH, *Le navire du choléra*, in *l'Anthropologie*, xiii. 1902, p. 788. G. A. DORSEY, *The Dwamish Indian Spirit Boat and its use*, in the *Free Museum of Science and Art, Department of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, Bulletin*, iii. 1902, p. 227, with five plates. *Compte rendu* by Dr. L. L[ALOY], in *l'Anthropologie*, xiv. 1903, pp. 349-351. M. Salomon Reinach quotes an ivory boat of the prehistoric age, belonging to a private collection at Munich, in which, instead of men seated, there are birds. He adds: "I have often questioned whether the boats on the vases published by M. de Morgan, which Mr. Cecil Torr has attempted to identify as enclosures with ostriches, are not intended for funerary barks where the large birds represent the deceased persons. The part played by the ostrich egg in the ancient religions of the East would be in favour of my hypothesis; the personages on the vases in question might be interpreted, moreover, as mourners, either male or female. I must also say that the birds are not depicted as *in* the boats, but *above* them, a fact which is scarcely explained by any other interpretation which has been adopted on this subject." Review of WEICHER, *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst*, Leipsic, 1902, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1903, ii. pp. 378-9. It must be remembered that the bark of the god Sokaris, already mentioned, is ornamented at the prow with bird figures. I think that when ostriches and gazelles are placed above as well as below the boats, it is because the artist has distributed his smaller figures in the vacant spaces after drawing the principal ones. On the subject of the part played by ostrich eggs, I will add to what I have stated in the chapter on personal adornment that Wilkinson infers that they were suspended in the temples of the Egyptians as they still are in the churches of the Copts. MARSHALL, JAMES, *Some points of resemblance between ancient nations of the East and West*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xiv. 1891-2, p. 6.

religion.[1] It is permissible to suppose that, under certain circumstances, the tribes assembled in certain localities sacred to the cult in the same way that the Australians celebrate the *intichiuma* in certain localities, which are always the same.[2] Greek authors relate how numerous barks laden with entire populations habitually went to Bubastis to celebrate the feast of the goddess.[3]

The ideas of death entertained by all primitive people render it easily comprehensible why the walls of tombs were inscribed with scenes analogous or identical with those found on the rocks, the purport of which savours of magic. If the living multiplied paintings and sculptures of useful animals and made representations of boats with a utilitarian object, the deceased, who in his tomb lived a life scarcely different to that of the living, would have a similar desire to benefit from the result of these representations.

The tombs in Egypt were extremely small, and could scarcely contain the contracted corpse. Thus the walls could not suffice for the representation of scenes necessary for the dead. They were, therefore, drawn on the sides of the jars which contained his provisions, and it is for this reason that so many vases are painted with boats and animals. The plants that we find, and that we have already mentioned, are aloes, which are cultivated in pots, and still retain in Egypt to the present day the property of averting the evil eye. As to the dancing scenes which we believe we have recognized, they would be explained by the funerary and magical nature of primitive dances. We will speak of them in a special chapter.

Certain figures of the Hierakonpolis painted tomb, moreover, confirm the religious nature of these representations, and they reproduce, as we suppose, the ceremonies of the cult.[4]

When Pharaonic Egypt makes its appearance in the paintings

[1] See, for example, LEFÉBURE, *Rites égyptiens: Construction et protection des édifices*, p. 86 *et seq.*

[2] SPENCER & GILLEN, *loc. cit.* fig. 24, p. 171, and fig. 33, p. 195.

[3] *Herodotus*, ii. 60. See WIEDEMANN, *Herodots zweites Buch mit sachlichen Erläuterungen*, Leipzic, 1890, p. 253 *et seq.*

[4] On the subject of the cult of the pillar , I am struck with the frequent appearance of the pole in Australian ceremonies. See SPENCER & GILLEN, *loc. cit. passim.* Index, "Pole."

and sculptures of the tombs of the Ancient Empire, it seems that things are but little changed. Figures of animals and also scenes of navigation still occur repeatedly. Here, where doubt is no longer possible, we are certain of the reason of these representations. They exist solely for the purpose of procuring for the deceased the realization of the objects depicted on the walls of the tomb. The religious formulæ which accompany these scenes show the Egyptian of historic times employing magic methods in order to ensure to the deceased a peaceful and happy existence, methods which in reality are only the development of those employed by his primitive predecessors. No doubt this is the explanation of numerous primitive sculptures.

We have mentioned models of boats, and also of animals. On this point a grave objection may be made to the theory of M. Salomon Reinach. In Egypt it is not only desirable animals that are represented. As we have seen, there are also figures of the undesirable animals—the hippopotamus, crocodile, scorpion, frog, lion, jackal, monkey, and even the griffin with the body of a lion and the head of a bird.

The answer which meets this objection appears to us a simple one. The primitive Egyptians, when we first know them, are already advanced to such a degree of civilization that we may be justified in supposing that, in addition to magic formulæ, the object of which was to secure a supply of food, they also possessed religious beliefs of higher development, such, for example, as the animal cults. The monuments of ancient Egypt afford sufficient proof of the existence of such cults at the commencement of Egyptian history to enable us to recognize, in the hippopotamus, the goddess Thueris[1]; in the crocodile, the god Sebek; in the scorpion, the goddess Selkit; in the frog, the goddess Hekit; in

[1] The figures of the hippopotamus are perhaps intended to enable the deceased to enjoy the pleasure of hippopotamus hunting. See PRISSE D'AVENNES, *Histoire de l'art égyptien*, atlas ii. pl. x. At the British Museum there is a statue in breccia of the goddess Thueris in hippopotamus form, which was at first attributed to the Saïtic period, then to the archaic age; but as doubts have been raised as to its authenticity, I have not dared to make use of it as a proof. See BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, ii., *Egypt under the Great Pyramid Builders*, fig. p. 5, British Museum, No. 35,700.

the lion, the goddess Sekhmet or the god Atum[1]; in the jackal, the god Anubis; in the ape,[2] the god Thot; in the griffin, the god Mentu, etc. The cults of these divinities apparently did not exist at this age with all their later developments; but I see in the fact that these Egyptian divinities of the historic age were represented by these animals, the proof that from primitive times they had been the object of a cult. If it were possible for me to enter here into details of theories relating to fetishism such as is practised by the negroes of the coast of Guinea, or of totemism, it would be easy to make it clear how it could happen that these animals, on which it was supposed that the well-being and existence of the entire tribe depended, became actually desirable. Thus the theory proposed by M. Salomon Reinach finds a striking confirmation among the primitive Egyptians.

Models of boats frequently occur in Egyptian tombs of Pharaonic times, and also models of houses have been found.

The primitive tombs have yielded representations of servants, of women, and of dwarfs, whose presence may be explained in the same way. The servants are given to the deceased to accompany him in the other life, and the numerous statues of servants found in the mastabas of the Ancient Empire bear witness to the persistence of this custom. Wives accompany their husbands, and a statuette discovered at Naqada, with a model of a bed,[3] recalls similar representations of Pharaonic times. Dwarfs and deformed persons served to amuse the deceased, as did the buffoons for the living; and here, again, the representations on the tombs of the Ancient Empire confirm this view. The religious texts indicate the importance of dwarfs in the next world.[4]

The figures of captives, which we have previously mentioned would be more difficult to explain if the foundation rites of

[1] On the subject of lions and apes see also LEFÉBURE, *Rites égyptiens: Construction et protection des édifices*, p. 52 *et seq.*

[2] The figures of apes are perhaps intended to provide the deceased with pet animals. See LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 13.

[3] PÉTRIE, *Naqada*, pl. xxxvi. 83, and p. 41.

[4] MASPERO, *Sur une formule du Livre des Pyramides*, in the *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, ii. pp. 420-443.

tombs, of temples, and of houses amongst the primitive people did not come to our aid and indicate the motive for their presence.[1] These are victims sacrificed as guardians of the monument, and Egyptian civilization did not succeed in entirely banishing this custom. The representations on a Theban tomb of the New Empire furnish us with a conclusive proof of this.[2]

It may be considered surprising that the primitive temples of Hierakonpolis and Abydos contribute so many objects similar to those found in the tombs. This coincides with the conception of the Egyptians—not to say of all primitive nations—of the house, the temple, and the tomb, between which there seems to be no essential difference. The tomb is the house of the dead; the temple is probably either the house of the living god or the tomb of the dead god. Unfortunately we can only briefly indicate these points, without entering into the developments which are not directly connected with our subject.

The results of our investigations in this chapter tend to show that of radical differences there are scarcely any between the sculptures and paintings of the primitive Egyptians and those of Pharaonic times.

The following chapter, devoted to the earliest Pharaonic monuments, will show that if the style of art productions was transformed, this transformation was effected in so gradual a manner that we can follow it step by step. New elements were introduced, but the primitive art was only changed by them in the same manner as that in which a nation itself alters by frequent admixture of foreign blood.

[1] M[ONSEUR], E., review of SÉBILLOT, *Les travaux publics et les mines dans les traditions et les superstitions de tous les pays*, Paris, 1894, in the *Bulletin de Folklore*, ii. fasc. iii. iv. 1893, p. 177, where the bibliographical indications relating to this point are to be found. The same primitive beliefs may also explain certain animal figures. "Le but de ces sacrifices est de procurer à la construction un génie protecteur."

[2] MASPERO, *Le tombeau de Mentouhikhopshouf*, in the *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Cairo*, v. fasc. 3, pp. 435-468.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLIEST PHARAONIC MONUMENTS.

DURING the winter of 1893-4, in the course of excavations on the site of the temple of Koptos, Petrie and Quibell discovered a number of stone monuments "quite apart from anything known in Egyptian work."[1] They comprised three human statues considerably over life size, three lions, and a bird, and are entirely hammer-worked, showing no trace of the chisel or of any metal tool.

We have previously had occasion to speak of the lions and the bird, and we have seen that, owing to recent discoveries, it is possible to assign them their position in the classified series of remains, extending from the primitive period to the first Egyptian dynasties (Figs. 142 and 150).

The three statues represent a personage standing in the characteristic attitude assigned by the Egyptians to the god Min. The legs are parallel and joined, and are marked only by a slight groove in front and behind; the knees are scarcely indicated. The arms, roughly worked, project but little from the body; the position of the right arm differs from that of representations of the god Min in the classical period; instead of being raised to hold a whip, it is hanging down the side. The fist is clenched, and a hole pierced through the hand shows that the figure should hold some kind of emblem, possibly the whip itself. The only garment indicated is a girdle formed of a piece of material wound eight times round the body; one end falls down the right side, broadening to the base (Fig. 166).

[1] PETRIE, *Koptos*, p. 7.

On this end there are various designs, indicated by outlines more deeply hammered, and which probably are an attempt at rendering embroidery.

In the first statue the designs are a stag's head fixed on

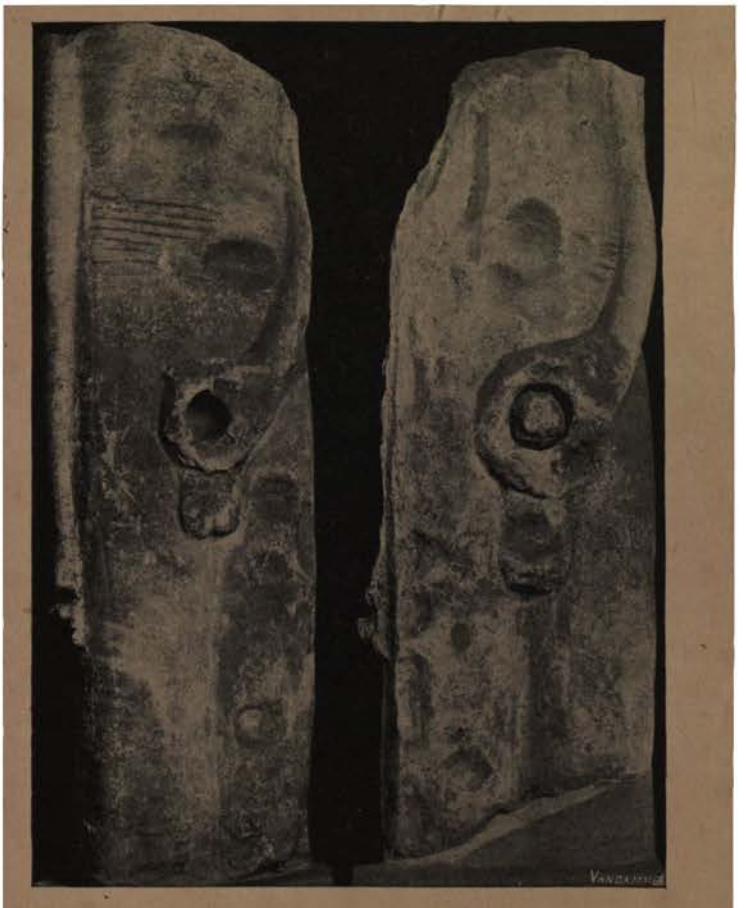


FIG. 166.—STATUES OF THE GOD MIN DISCOVERED AT KOPTOS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

a stake, the top of which enters the mouth of the animal; below this are two pteroceras shells.

On the second statue there are also two pteroceras shells, two saws of the saw-fish of the Red Sea, and, finally, two poles, on the top of which are fixed emblems identical with

the sign which later on was used for writing the name of the god Min, and recalling the sign engraved upon a slate palette discovered at El Amrah, of which we have given a reproduction (Fig. 63).

On the third statue the designs are more complex. The two poles with the Min emblem are separated, as in the preceding specimen, by the saws of saw-fish, the teeth of which are in this case worked with a flint-knife instead of being hammered. A knotted pole is joined to one of the Min emblems, and below the other there is a drawing of an ostrich. In addition, there are two large pteroceras shells, an indefinite figure, then an elephant, a hyæna (?), and an ox, the feet of which are placed on small triangular objects[1] (Fig. 167).

We have already had occasion to notice similar figures on the decorated pottery, where we find men hunting animals whose feet are placed on a succession of triangles, apparently intended to represent mountains (Fig. 88). On a fragment of sculptured ivory from Hierakonpolis elephants are likewise seen standing on these triangles (Fig. 109). We may, then, connect these archaic statues with the primitive remains, even though they are manifestly intended for a representation of an Egyptian divinity. Without insisting here on the deductions which have been drawn from the presence of these statues at Koptos, we may say, in passing, that they provide a powerful argument to those who wish to bring the dynastic Egyptians from the land of Punt, situated on the east coast of Africa, on the borders of the Red Sea.[2]

With the exception of Professor Petrie, the discoverer of these statues, the only scholar who has attempted to determine their age is Professor Steindorff, of Leipzic. Judging from their style he attributed them to the prehistoric period.[3] Petrie, on the

[1] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pl. iii. iv. and pp. 7, 8. The head of one of the statues has been found, but it is much mutilated. It shows that the god was bearded. The face has suffered most. See PETRIE, *ib.* pl. v. 4 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).

[2] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pp. 8, 9. *History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Sixteenth Dynasty*, 4th ed. London, 1899, p. 12.

[3] STEINDORFF, *Eine neue Art ägyptischer Kunst*, in *Aegyptiaca. Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, pp. 130, 140, notes 1, 41.

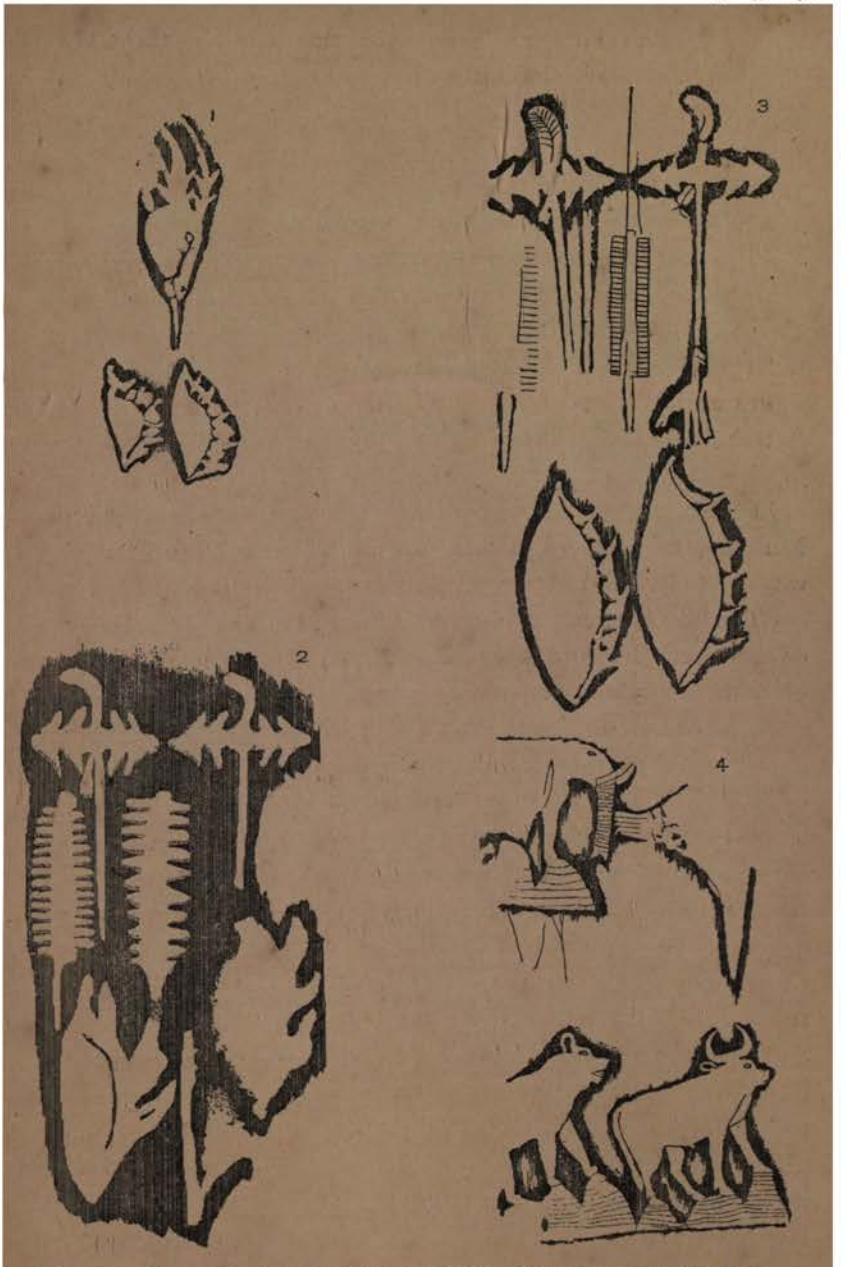


FIG 167.—HAMMERED DESIGNS ON THE ARCHAIC STATUES OF THE GOD MIN.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1 and 2); Cairo Museum (3 and 4).

contrary, in a recent article, considers them as the earliest work of the dynastic race.[1] This divergence of opinion cannot be ignored.

At Hierakonpolis an archaic statue similar to those from Koptos was discovered, which had been used as the threshold of a gateway in the wall of the ancient town. According to Mr. Green, this represents a man standing, the left leg slightly advanced. The knees are summarily indicated; the left arm is laid horizontally on the breast, and the right arm, disproportionately long, hangs down the side. The clothing consists of a large cloak, which reaches to the knees, fitting close to the figure and supported by a broad band, which, passing over the left shoulder, leaves the right side of the chest uncovered. As in the statues of Min, the right hand is pierced horizontally to hold a sceptre or staff.[2] The original, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, gives rather the impression of the statue of a woman (Fig. 168).

The same excavations at Hierakonpolis led to the discovery of two very important monuments, which have been the means of dating a whole series of similar objects dispersed in various museums, and about which there had been much divergence of opinion. These objects consist of fragments of slate palettes, on which figures of men and animals are sculptured in very low relief. M. Heuzey, the learned custodian of the Louvre Museum, insisted on the resemblance of style between these fragments and the monuments of Chaldean art. M. Maspero observed points which were completely Egyptian, and believed that for one of the fragments he could assign a date during the rule of the Libyan kings of the twenty-second dynasty (Sheshonk and his successors). Dr. Budge, the keeper of the Egyptian department of the British Museum, in his turn considered them to be Mesopotamian works imported into Egypt as presents offered by the Mesopotamian princes to the kings of the eighteenth dynasty. Finally, Professor Steindorff, in the article we have already mentioned, came to the conclusion, after a

[1] PETRIE, *The Rise and Development of Egyptian Art*, in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, London, June 21st, 1901, p. 594.

[2] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. lvii. pp. 15, 16, 47.

minute examination of the entire group, that these objects were indeed Egyptian, but of the prehistoric age.[1]

It was at this time that Quibell discovered at Hierakonpolis two pieces of the same class. They were complete, and furthermore, on one of them was inscribed in hieroglyphic characters a royal name. Unfortunately, the name does not

FIG. 168.—ARCHAIC STATUE DISCOVERED AT HIERAKONPOLIS.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

correspond with any of those known to us from the royal lists of later date, and at the present time opinion is still divided as to the exact position that should be assigned to it.[2] It is,

[1] M. de Morgan arrived at the same conclusion. See DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. pl. ii. iii. fig. 864, and p. 263 *et seq.*, where M. Jéquier compares them with the knife-handles shown in our Figs. 33 and 35.

[2] PETRIE, *History of Egypt from the Earliest Times*, etc., 5th ed. 1903, pp. 7-9. FOUCART, *Les deux rois inconnus d'Hierakonpolis*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1901, pp. 241-249. NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, iii., in the *Recueil de travaux*, etc., xxv. 1903, pp. 206-208, 218-220.

nevertheless, incontestable that this king, who is called Nar-Mer by general agreement, belonged to the earliest period of Egyptian history. He deposited several objects in the temple at Hierakonpolis, among them a great slate palette and an enormous mace-head, both decorated with scenes in low relief, which supply us with an instance of common objects diverted from their ordinary use to become ex-votos.[1] Their discovery dispelled all doubt as to the age of similar objects, and henceforth they must be dated from the close of the prehistoric times, or the commencement of the dynastic era.

It is impossible to give here a detailed description of these interesting pieces, as it would be necessary to raise extremely difficult questions, the solution of which would occupy many pages[2]; nor can I attempt to indicate the facts relating to the history of primitive Egypt which have been drawn from the study of these objects.[3] I must content myself with giving illustrations of them, and adding some remarks on the analogies which we notice between these pieces and those of primitive times or of the historic period.

Basing our selection on the style, we should place first on our list a fragment at Cairo (Fig. 169), published by Professor Steindorff.[4] It represents a boat similar to those known to us

[1] CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, *loc. cit.* xliii. 1901, pp. 251, 252. NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, iii. *loc. cit.* p. 223.

[2] LEGGE, *The Carved Slates from Hierakonpolis and elsewhere*, in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, xxii. 1900, 125-39, with nine plates; *Another Carved Slate*, *ib.* pp. 270, 271, with one plate; *A New Carved Slate*, *loc. cit.* xxvi. 262, 263, with one plate. STEINDORFF, *Eine neue Art ägyptischer Kunst*, in *Aegyptiaca*, *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, pp. 122-141. J. L. M[YRES], review of LEGGE, *Carved Slates from Hierakonpolis and elsewhere*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxx. 1900; *Anthropological Reviews and Miscellanea*, pp. 15, 16, pl. B, C, D. CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxii. 1901, where an almost complete bibliography will be found of the great palette of Hierakonpolis. M. Bénédite, in a work on the new palette at the Louvre, gives a summary study of the whole group. BÉNÉDITE, *Une nouvelle palette en schiste*, in the *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, x. 1903, pp. 105-122 and pl. xi. See also JOLLES, *Die antithetische Gruppe*, in the *Jahrbuch der Kaiserlich deutschen Archéologischen Institut*, xix. 1904, p. 37 *et seq.*

[3] NEWBERRY & GARSTANG, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*, London, 1904, pp. 14-19.

[4] STEINDORFF, *loc. cit.* fig. p. 124.

from the prehistoric remains. This is surmounted by two signs one of which is the bird , *rekhyt*, which we have met with already on a vase with relief decorations from Hierakonpolis, in what may be a pictographic inscription (Fig. 73). Professor Steindorff, with perfect accuracy, noted the resemblances which exist between the boat here represented and those figured in the earliest hieroglyphs.

A fragment at the Louvre and two others at the British

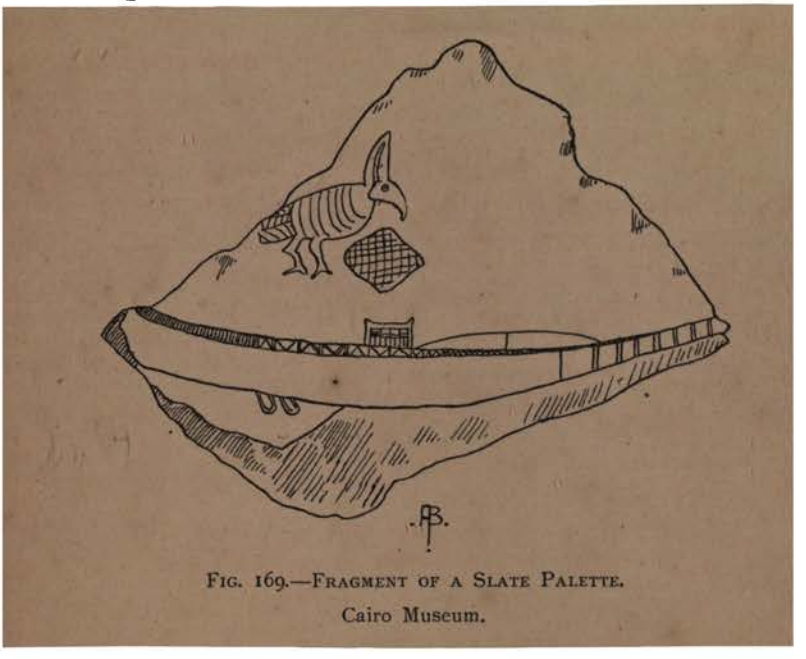


FIG. 169.—FRAGMENT OF A SLATE PALETTE.
Cairo Museum.

Museum belong together, and united form almost a complete palette[1] (Fig. 170). In the centre there is a round cavity, intended apparently to contain the green paint by means of which the divine statue or the king officiating in the temple was painted. Surrounding the cavity are traced hunting scenes. To the right and left of the palette, two bands of huntsmen are chasing the animals of the desert; at the top there is a lion offering a vigorous resistance. The type of lion gives us at least a clue to the date

[1] HEUZEY, *Égypte ou Chaldée*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1899, pl. of p. 66, and pp. 62, 63.

of the palette. The working of the mane recalls very exactly the figures previously described of lions contemporary with the kings of the first dynasty (Fig. 141). The eyes of the huntsmen, as Steindorff remarked, are hollowed to contain a bead, as in the prehistoric figures. All the men represented wear the tail attached to the girdle, and most of them have one or two ostrich feathers in their hair. Their weapons are characteristic of prehistoric times.[1]

If it were possible to verify the hypothesis which I put forward several years ago on the subject of the two figures inscribed on the upper end of the palette, we should in this palette have one of the earliest instances of the use of hieroglyphic writing.[2]

Here, again, we see standards formed of a pole, on the top of which an emblem is fixed, recalling the ensigns of boats of the primitive age (Fig. 164). The figures of animals, similar to those on the decorated pottery, resemble also other pieces which are more accurately dated, especially a palette discovered at Hierakonpolis, the top of which is decorated with two running jackals, the silhouette of the two animals following exactly the outline of the palette.

In this other palette, also, the central cavity appears to constitute the essential part of the piece. Here our attention is attracted by the weird figures of feline animals with enormously long necks, which we have already seen on the Hierakonpolis ivories (Fig. 108), and which we shall meet with again. The various animals represented here are somewhat surprising. There is the same mixture of real and imaginary creatures, as in the hunting scenes depicted on the walls of tombs of the twelfth dynasty[3]

[1] One of the British Museum fragments is figured, with reference to the shape of the bow, in SCHURTZ, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipsic, 1900, p. 345, with the astounding description, "*Assyrische Jagdszene.*"

[2] CAPART, *Mélanges*, § 2, *Remarque sur une des palettes archaïques du Musée Britannique*, in the *Recueil de travaux*, etc. xxii. 1900, pp. 108-110. BUDGE, *A History of Egypt*, ii. 1902, p. 11, where the author is not acquainted with the preceding work. MAX MÜLLER, W., *Nachtrag zu Louvre*, C[1], in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, iii. 1900, col. 433.

[3] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xxviii. and p. 41. HEUZEY, *Égypte ou Chaldée*, *loc. cit.* 1899, pl. of p. 66, and pp. 66, 67. A fragment of the lower part of a similar palette is in the MacGregor Collection at Tamworth.

FIG. 170.—SLATE PALETTE WITH HUNTING SCENES.

Louvre and British Museum.

(Figs. 171 and 172). Mr. Quibell, from information supplied by Captain Flower, identifies gazelles, antelopes, ibex, oryx, stags, jackals, dogs, a leopard, a vulture (more probably an ostrich), a wild bull, a giraffe, and two fantastic creatures. One of these

FIG. 171.—SLATE PALETTE WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS (RECTO).
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

is a griffin with a hawk's head, and with birds' wings rising out of the middle of its back; the other, a jackal (?), walking on its hind feet, the body surrounded with a girdle, appears

to be playing a flute (?). Dr. Petrie remarks[1] on the interest from a zoological point of view presented by these representations of animals, some of them of species which at the present day are no longer to be found in Egypt.

FIG. 172.—SLATE PALETTE WITH REPRESENTATIONS OF ANIMALS (VERSO).
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

M. Bénédite has published a palette recently acquired by

[1] PETRIE, *The Rise and Development of Egyptian Art*, in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, xlix. 1901, p. 595.

him in Egypt for the Louvre Museum (Figs. 173 and 174). It is closely allied to the small Hierakonpolis palette, especially in the figures of animals whose outlines form the contour of

FIG. 173.—SLATE PALETTE (RECTO).
Louvre Museum.

the object, but with this difference, that in this case there are four jackals (?) instead of two on each face. Here appears for the first time a curious design treated very awkwardly; namely, two giraffes facing a palm tree. We shall find this motive

brilliantly developed on a palette of which there are fragments at the British Museum and at Oxford.[1]

If we attempt to characterize the style of these last palettes,

FIG. 174.—SLATE PALETTE (RECTO).
Louvre Museum.

which show so much similarity in the ornamentation, we shall say with M. Heuzey[2]: "As to the style, it is in every respect

[1] BÉNÉDITE, *Une nouvelle palette en schiste*, in the *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Academie des inscriptions et belles lettres* x. 1903, pp. 105-122, pl. xi. LEGGE. See p. 228, note 2.

[2] HEUZEY, *loc. cit.* p. 64.

such as we have defined from the first, a realism which is crude but full of energy, which attempts to render movement, and at the same time robust forms with salient muscles, not only in human figures, but also in those of animals even of the lightest and most agile species, such as the ibex and antelope. Nothing can be farther from the Egyptian style, as it exists early on monuments of the Pyramid times, and if any one of these figures had been shown to us separately, without any indication

FIG. 175.—FRAGMENT OF A SLATE PALETTE (RECTO).
Cairo Museum.

of its origin, it is to Chaldæa, or Assyria, or one of the countries bordering on these, that we should have assigned it."

A small fragment at the British Museum should also be included in this same category; here at the top of the circular cavity there is part of a recumbent animal, and below are two ostriches identical with those of the two preceding pieces.

A second fragment at Cairo is carved with representations differing very little from those on the preceding example. Instead,

however, of being scattered in haphazard fashion over the surface of the palette, the animals are regularly separated into three rows: in the first are bulls; in the second, asses; in the third, rams.[1] This decoration recalls the figures of animals on the knife-handle in Fig. 35, in which Petrie recognized "the regular Egyptian style of the tombs of the Ancient Empire."[2] With these must also be compared the Hierakonpolis ivories reproduced in Fig. 109. Below the third register there are trees almost

FIG. 176.—FRAGMENT OF A SLATE PALETTE (VERSO).
Cairo Museum.

identical with those which appear in the hieroglyphs of the beginning of the fourth dynasty.[3]

The strongest proof that the Cairo fragment should be

[1] DÜRST & GAILLARD, *Studien über die Geschichte des ägyptischen Hausschafes*, in the *Recueil de travaux*, xxiv. 1902, p. 46.

[2] PETRIE, *Naqada*, p. 51.

[3] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 7.

attributed to Pharaonic Egypt, notwithstanding its analogies with primitive pieces, is in the representations on the second face, where we see hieroglyphic writing, combined, it is true, with pictography. The animals—a lion, a scorpion, and a hawk—treated in an archaic manner, destroy, by means of a hoe, the crenellated walls on which they are perched (Figs. 175 and 176).

This system of pictography is seen again on a fragment at the Ashmolean Museum ; here standards, from each of which issues

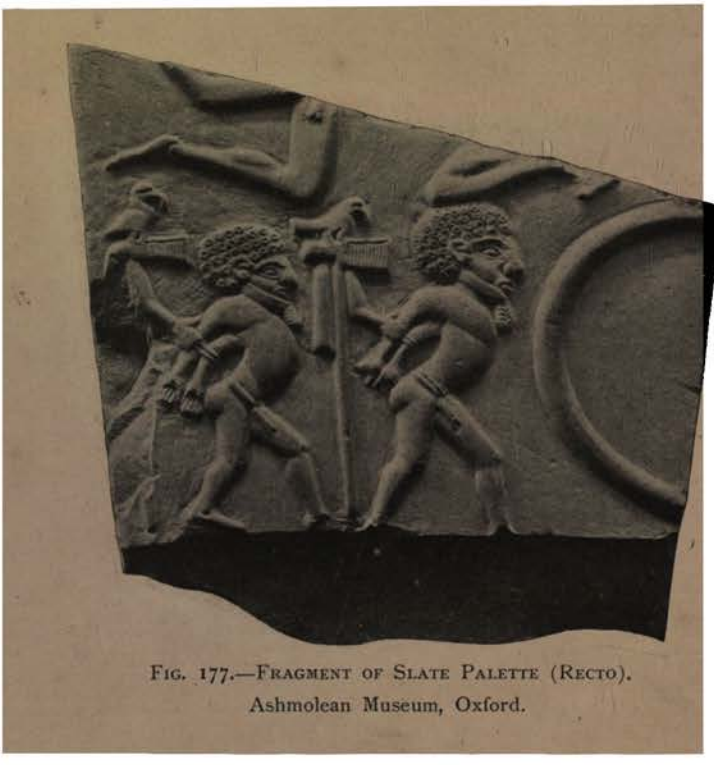


FIG. 177.—FRAGMENT OF SLATE PALETTE (RECTO).
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

a human arm, seize the captives.[1] The palette of which this forms part has not been recovered entire ; the largest piece is at the British Museum. On one of the faces two giraffes, standing on either side of a palm-tree, are eating the leaves. The beauty of execution of this group is admirably described

[1] This same symbol of standards furnished with arms is frequently found on monuments of the classic period. I quote one example from among a thousand. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, iii. 74*d*.

by M. Bénédite. "The palm branches," he says, "form a decoration of great elegance. The cluster of fruit at the top adds a motive which assumes singular importance in the midst of the simplicity of detail affected by the remainder of the palette. Finally, in this fragment it is impossible not to be struck with the interest presented by the position of the head of the gigantic animal. Seeking its food at the summit of the tree, it appears to inhale with extended nostrils the appetising scent

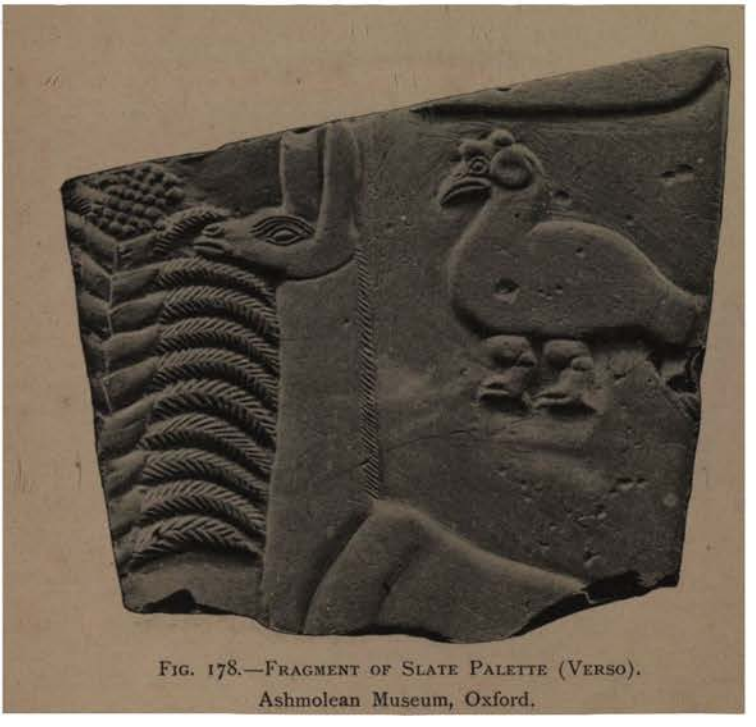


FIG. 178.—FRAGMENT OF SLATE PALETTE (VERSO).
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

of the fresh palm branches and of the pollen of the blossom." Above the body of one of the giraffes a large bird vaguely suggests that on the painted tomb of Hierakonpolis (Fig. 162). The other face evidently depicts a field of battle strewn with corpses, which are being torn by birds of prey. A lion has seized one of the corpses by the abdomen, and is attempting to tear out a piece. The inert body, which entirely abandons itself to being seized, is most happily rendered. The lion bears

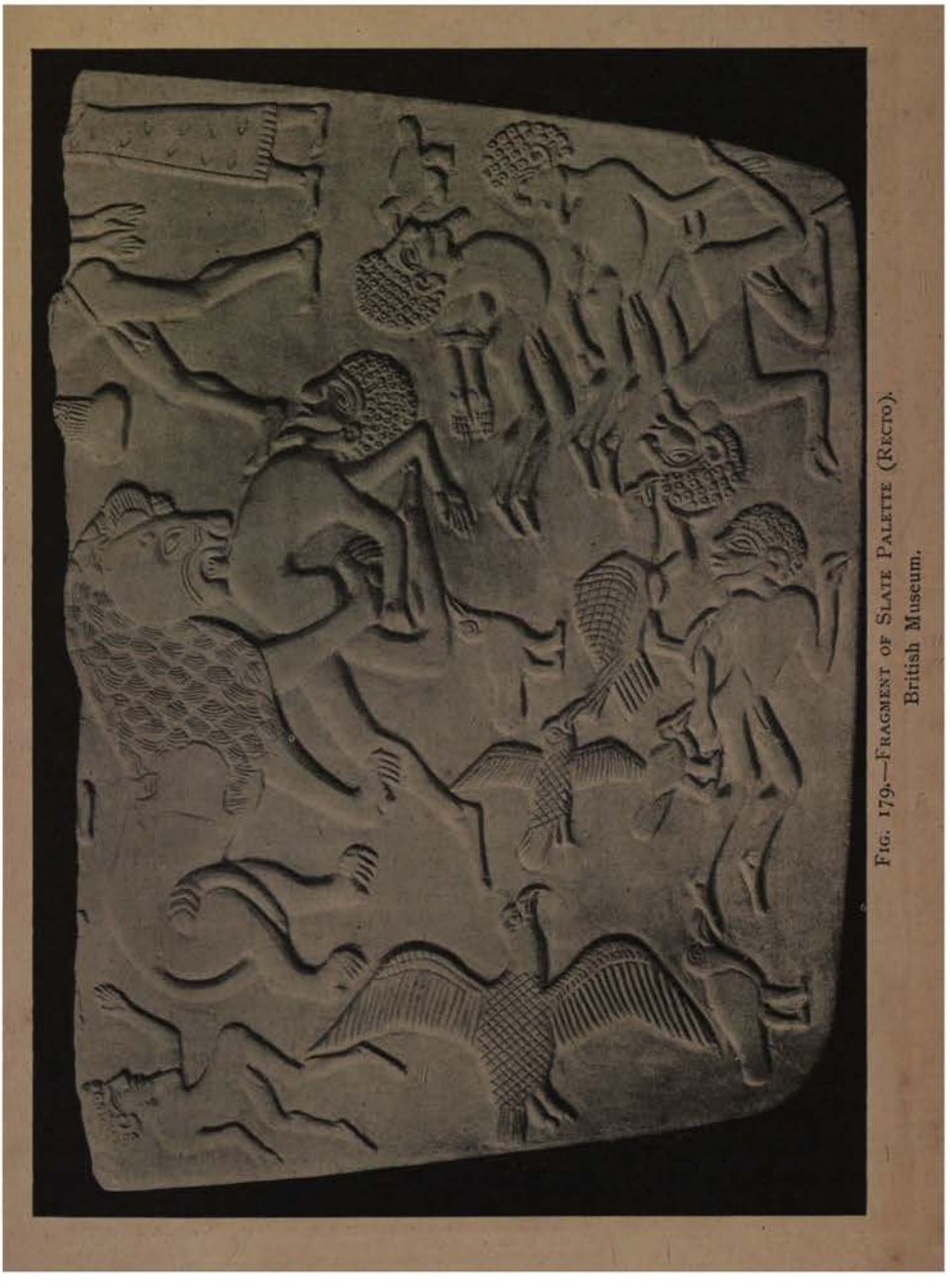


FIG. 179.—FRAGMENT OF SLATE PALETTE (RECTO).
British Museum.

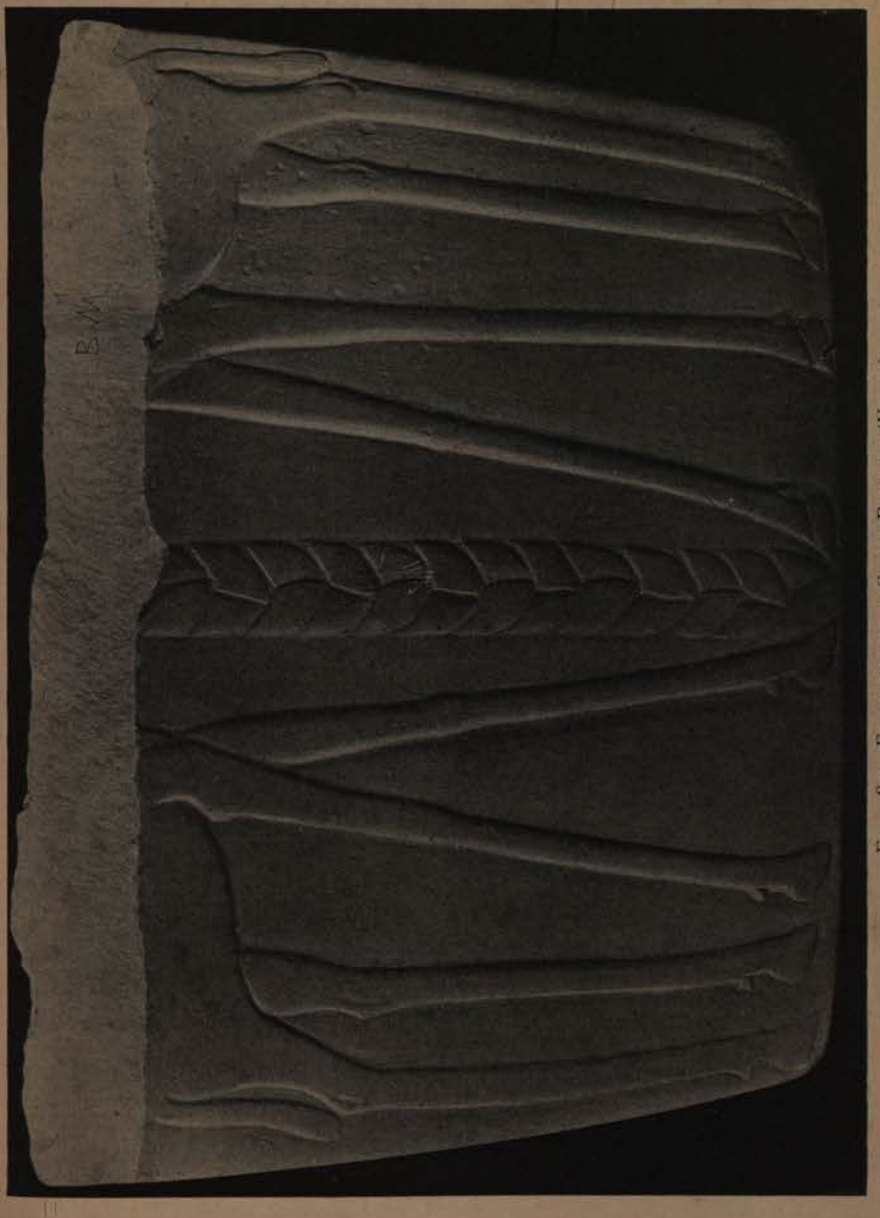


FIG. 180.—FRAGMENT OF A SLATE PALETTE (VERSO).
British Museum.

a resemblance to the figures we have previously described, principally in the lines of the muzzle and the two spots on the forehead (Fig. 141). Above this scene of carnage, a person wrapped in a large embroidered mantle, recalling that of the

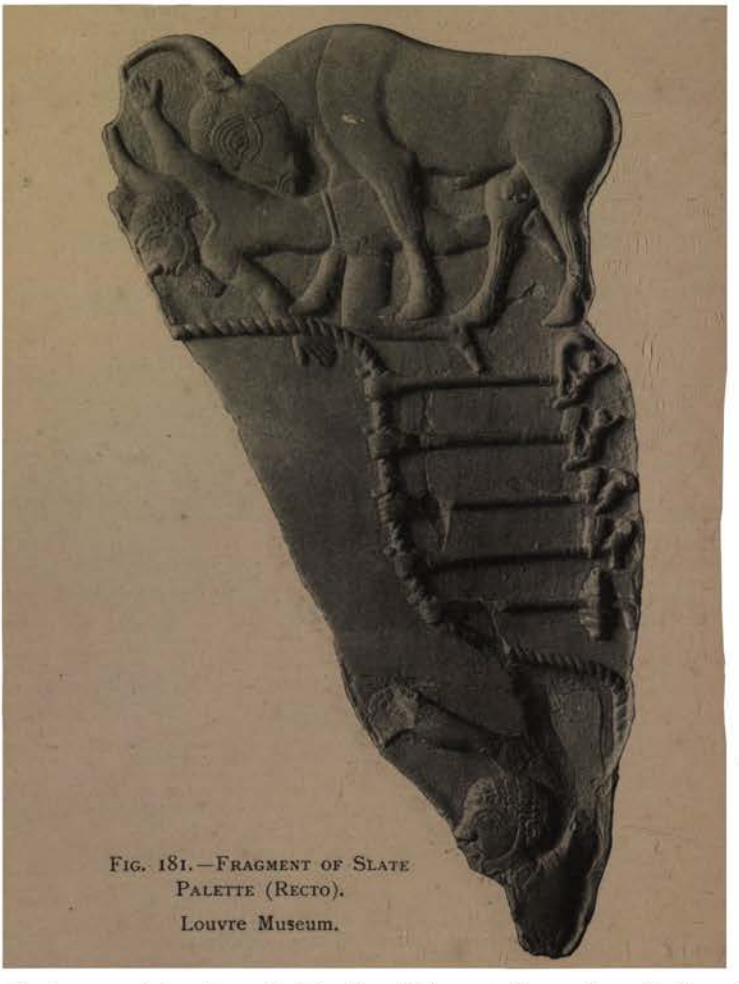


FIG. 181.—FRAGMENT OF SLATE PALETTE (RECTO).
Louvre Museum.

small ivory statuette of Abydos (Fig. 122), pushes before him a prisoner, whose arms are bound behind his back, while a heavy stone (?) is hung round his neck (Figs. 177 to 180).

The living standards play a direct part in the scene engraved on a fragment of a palette from the Louvre. Five ensigns surmounted by emblems of gods, among others of the god Min,

end in a human hand grasping a strong cord. This is, in reality, an actual pictographic inscription, as is also the scene which constitutes the upper part of the palette; a bull vigorously trampling a man under his feet, and about to transfix him with

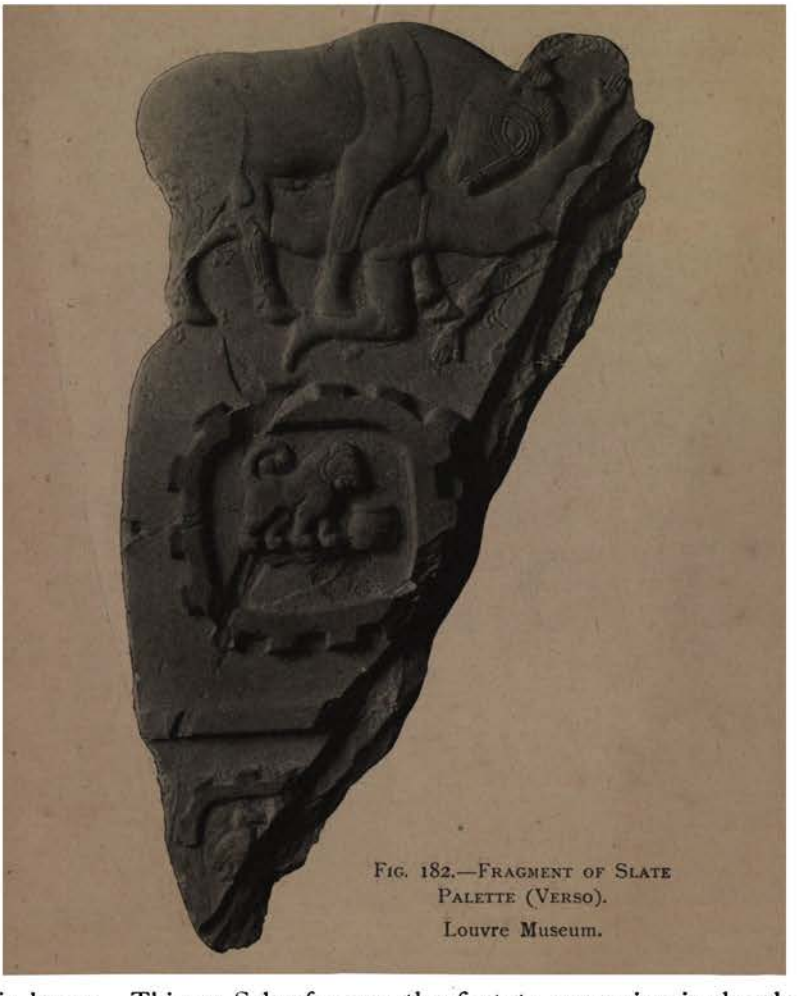


FIG. 182.—FRAGMENT OF SLATE PALETTE (VERSO).
Louvre Museum.

his horns. This, as Schaefer was the first to recognize, is already an instance of a king "Strong Bull" overthrowing his enemies.[1]

[1] STEINDORFF, *Eine neue Art ägyptischer Kunst*, *loc. cit.* p. 131, note 1. Mr. Offord remarks that "in the epilogue to the Code of Hammurabi, the king, in boasting of his victories, calls himself 'the mighty steer who overthrows the enemy.'"

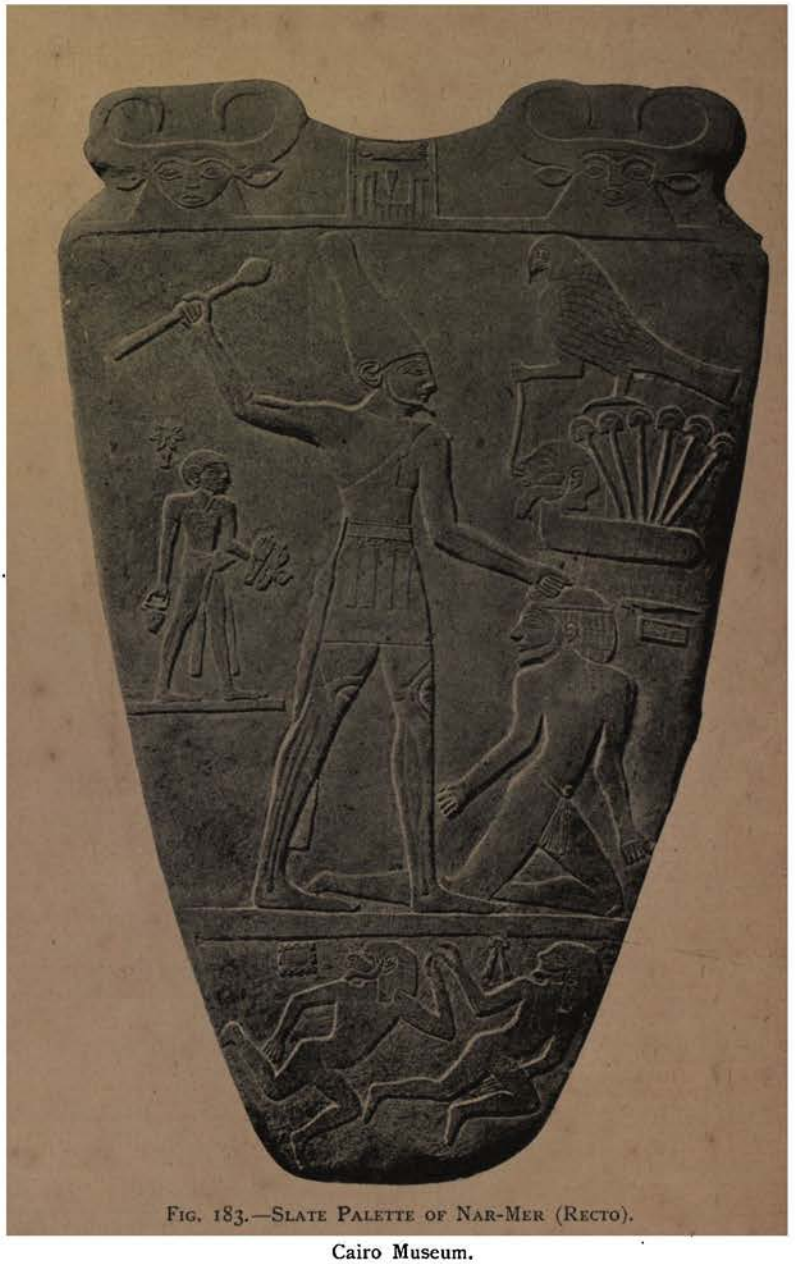


FIG. 183.—SLATE PALETTE OF NAR-MER (RECTO).

Cairo Museum.

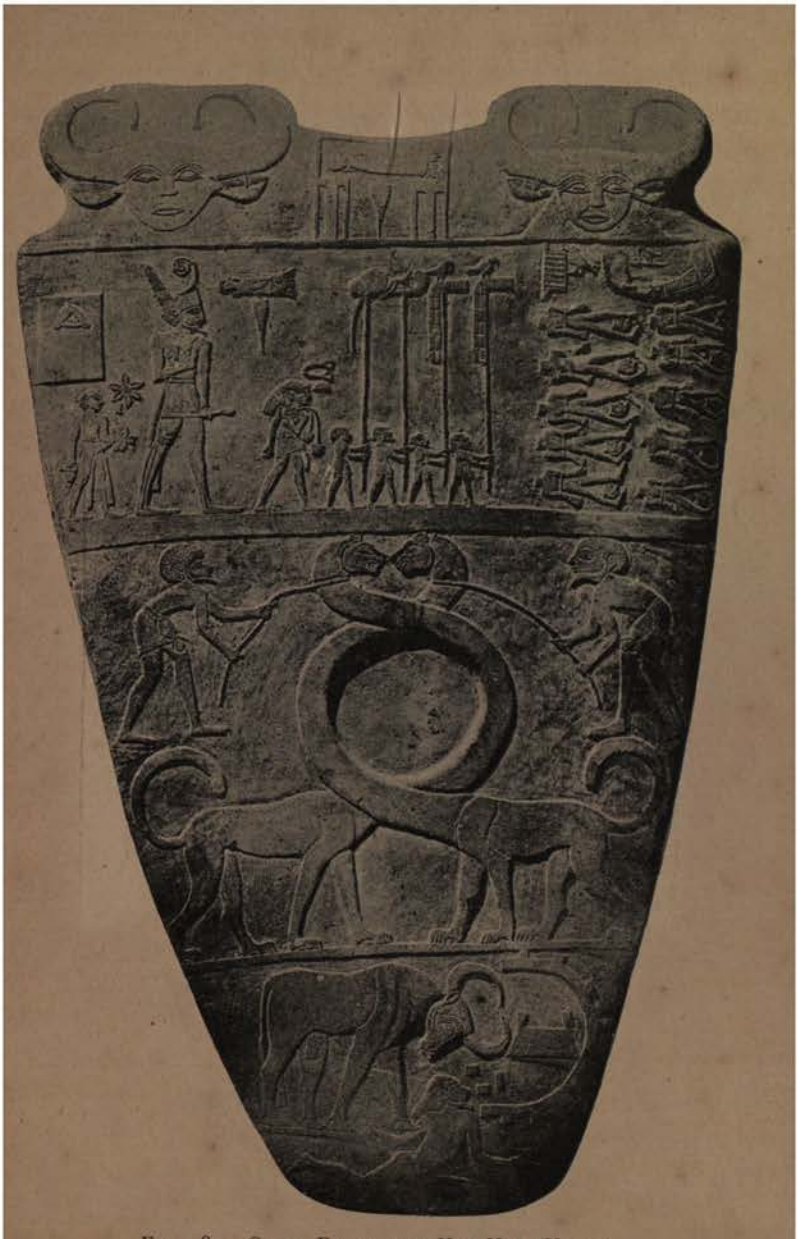


FIG. 184.—SLATE PALETTE OF NAR-MER (VERSO).

Cairo Museum.

The type of the vanquished enemy should be observed, also the hair and the curled beard, as well as the girdle from which the *karnata* is suspended. On the reverse of this palette the principal scene is repeated, but this time the place of the animated standards is occupied, as in the second Cairo fragment, by crenellated walls representing fortified towns. In the centre of these walls hieroglyphic signs give the names of cities (Figs. 181 and 182).

FIG. 185.—FRAGMENT OF SLATE PALETTE.
Louvre Museum.

The symbol of the king, "Powerful Bull," destroying his enemies, occurs again on the great palette discovered at Hierakonpolis, where the bull has overthrown with his horns the crenellated walls of a town. This palette, with the name of King Nar-Mer, raises discussions of extreme complexity, for which we must refer to special works published on this subject.[1] We observe,

[1] They will be found recapitulated in CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, *loc. cit.* See also NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, iii. appendix, in the *Recueil de travaux*, xxv. 1903, pp. 223-225. WEILL, R.,

however, the great lion-like animals with serpents' necks, which are also found on a Chaldæan cylinder at the Louvre.[1] "Such an identity," says M. Heuzey, "between two motives, both of which are of such precision and complexity, cannot be the effect

FIG. 186.—GREAT MACE-HEAD OF KING NAR-MER.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Hieraconpolis et les origines de l'Égypte, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1902, ii. pp. 119-121. QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pp. 41-43.

[1] HEUZEY, *Égypte ou Chaldée*, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1899, pp. 66-68 and pl. of p. 62. The leopard (?) with the neck and head of a serpent is not without parallel in Egyptian art. It is the fantastic animal named . *sedja*, which is figured in hunting scenes at Beni Hasan. See NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, ii. pl. iv. It also occurs on the magical ivories of the twelfth dynasty. See CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, *loc. cit.* p. 264.

of chance. It can only be explained by very close relations between primitive Chaldæa and the earliest Egyptian civilization. The explanation only gains in force and emphasis if one admits that a race originally Asiatic arrived on the banks of the Nile and founded the earliest dynasties, bringing to the black populations of Africa the elements of an art which had already taken form. This fact is simple and rational in itself, not only conforming to the traditions of humanity, but also to the laws of history and to that which we know of the great currents followed by the human race" (Figs. 183 and 184). On this palette we find a use of hieroglyphs similar to those of dynastic Egypt, and, nevertheless, pictography has not entirely disappeared. On the recto, above the head of the barbarian smitten by the king, a singular group is sculptured, composed of a human head, a bunch of papyrus stems, and a bird. Opinions are unanimous with regard to this; it is intended to signify that the god Horus, or the goddess Nekhbet, vanquished or seized six thousand foes, or perhaps that they overthrew the people of the north.[1]

There is also a small fragment in the Louvre Collection, extremely archaic, representing a group of people on the march, which was bought at Beyrout[2] by Ary Renan. There is no doubt that the fragment must be placed with the earliest of this class of objects (Fig. 185).

We must not leave this series of objects without observing to what extent details are found which are allied to primitive Egyptian art, by the side of others which are characteristic of Pharaonic monuments. The ivories of Hierakonpolis and Abydos stand alone in supplying a convincing and satisfactory succession, forming a link between prehistoric and historic work. We must bear in mind what we have already mentioned, that before anything was known of primitive Egypt, Professor Steindorff, with his perfect knowledge of Egyptian art and archæology, arrived at the conclusion that these palettes belonged to the

[1] CAPART, *ib.* p. 256.

[2] *Lettre de M. Ary Renan à M. G. Perrot*, in the *Revue archéologique*, third series, ix. 1887, pp. 37, 38, with fig.

prehistoric period. Now that we possess, owing to the Hierakonpolis discoveries, a palette bearing the name of an Egyptian king, we are forced to recognize that we are confronted with actual Pharaonic monuments. The hesitation one feels in pronouncing judgment on these slate palettes appears to me to be the best proof that there was not at any given moment in Egypt a sudden change of direction in artistic conceptions. We have already had occasion to remark this, and we will return to it when we have to formulate our conclusions.

King Nar-Mer, who dedicated the great palette of Hierakonpolis, also deposited in the temple the head of a mace of colossal size, inscribed with scenes in low relief. Several of the personages on this palette may still be recognized — the servant carrying the sandals, another on the identity

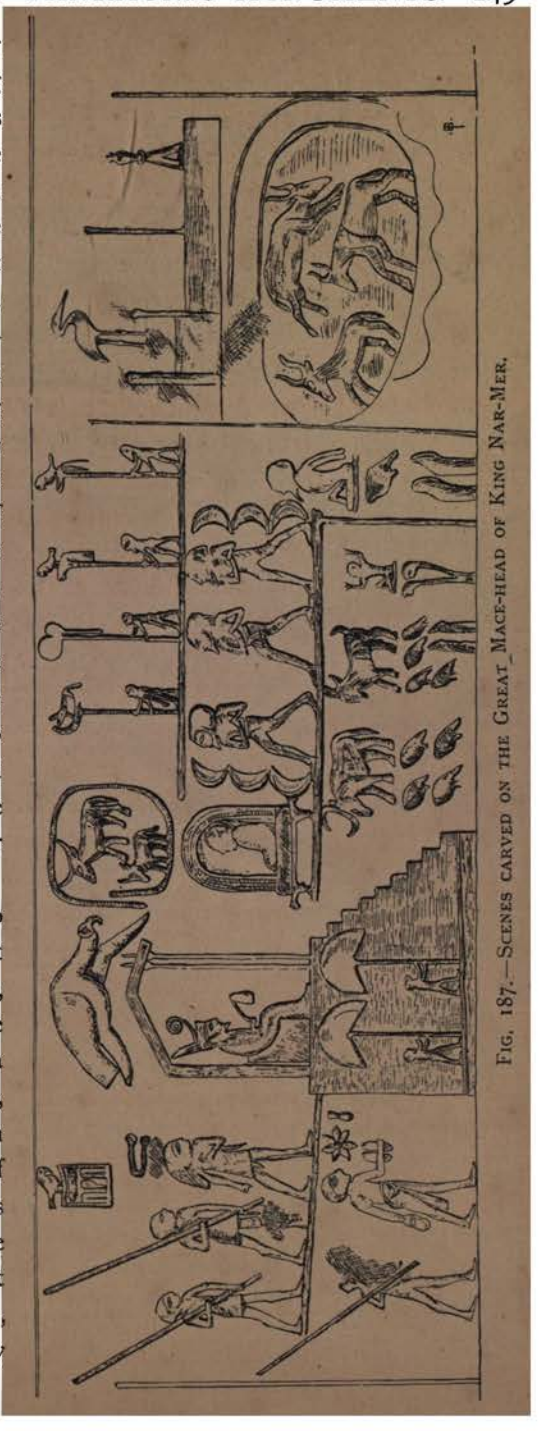


FIG. 187.—SCENES CARVED ON THE GREAT MACE-HEAD OF KING NAR-MER.

of whom writers are not agreed,[1] and the men carrying the standards. The reliefs on this mace-head show a roughness of workmanship which denotes a less practised hand (Figs. 186 and 187) than that which carved the great palette.[2]

Without entering into a detailed study of the scenes on this mace,[3] we must notice the three bearded men dancing before the king, who is seated under a dais placed on a platform, to which a ladder affords access. Both before and behind these dancers three crescent-shaped objects are represented. When these objects make their appearance in the classical period, they have acquired a regular form. It is difficult to say what they represent. We must be content to observe that in the texts these "crescents" occur in the composition of the titles of certain officials.[4]

The remains of a second mace of more perfect type bear the name of a king who has hitherto not been identified with any certainty.[5] Among other scenes we here see the king presiding over public works (Figs. 188 and 189). Can this be the opening of a dyke[6]? On one of the canals there may be seen the prow of a vessel which recalls those of the primitive period. In the lower angle at the right the remains are

[1] NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, iii. *loc. cit.* xxv. 1903, pp. 223-225.

[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxvi. *b*.

[3] FOUCART, G., *La plus vieille Égypte*, ii., *Les monuments commémoratifs du Sed à Hieraconpolis*, in the *Sphinx*, v. 1901, pp. 102-106. MORET, A., *Du Caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, Paris, 1902, p. 242, and fig. 71, p. 240. WEILL, R., *Hieraconpolis et les origines de l'Égypte*, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1902, ii. pp. 121, 122.

[4] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 129. NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xxxv. p. 41. SCHIAPARELLI, *Museo archeologico di Firenze, Antichita egizie*, i. pp. 266, 267, 369, 468. See GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, pl. iii. 36, and p. 64.

[5] FOUCART, G., *Les deux rois inconnus d'Hieraconpolis*, in the *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1900, pp. 230-241. NAVILLE, *loc. cit.* xxv. 1903, p. 218.

[6] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxvi. *c*, pp. 9, 10. M. Maspero here recognizes, with sufficient probability, the ceremony of *Khebs to*, "digging out the ground," which took place at the foundation of temples. See MASPERO, *Manual of Egyptian Archæology*, 5th ed. London, 1902, supplementary chapter, p. 353, note. LEFÉBURE, *Rites égyptiens: Construction et protection des édifices*, p. 32. MARIETTE, *Denderah*, p. 133, and i. pl. 20. BRUGSCH, *Die Aegyptologie*, p. 425.

distinguishable of a small vaulted construction similar to that found on the top of the slate palette reproduced on Fig. 170. In the middle register, to the left, some persons are being carried in palanquins, as on the mace of Nar-Mer, and men wearing a long tress of hair hanging down their backs are executing a dance. Dancers with this same tress may be seen on the fragment of a third mace, which is too much mutilated to allow of an accurate idea of the whole design.[1] These maces, which again differ in

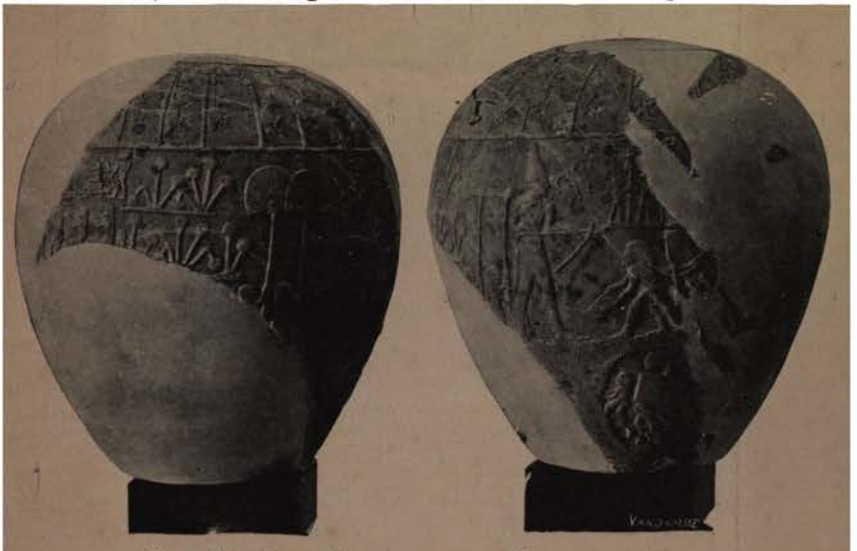


FIG. 188.—GREAT MACE-HEAD OF AN UNIDENTIFIED KING.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

style from the Egyptian classical monuments, introduce us, nevertheless, to scenes which reappear at subsequent periods.

It is the same with a fairly numerous series of objects discovered in the royal tombs of Abydos. These are small plaques, of ivory or wood, engraved with shallow lines sometimes filled in with a blackish paste, showing a great variety of scenes and inscriptions (Fig. 190).

The largest of these plaques was discovered in the tomb of the king whom scholars are apparently agreed to identify with Menes, the first king of the first dynasty, according to the

[1] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxvi. *a*, and p. 8.

FIG. 189.—DETAIL OF THE PRINCIPAL SCENE ON THE GREAT MACE-HEAD OF AN UNIDENTIFIED KING.

Block lent by the Egypt Exploration Fund. See *Archæological Report*, 1897-8, p. 7, plate.

historians of the classical period.[1] The scenes and descriptions are divided into four superposed registers. In the first at the

FIG. 190.—SPECIMENS OF SMALL IVORY AND WOODEN PLAQUES DISCOVERED IN THE ROYAL TOMBS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY AT ABYDOS.

right is a curious representation of a primitive temple, above

[1] This identification has been questioned especially by NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, i., *loc. cit.* xxi. 1899, 108-112; iii. *ib.* xxv. 1903, pp. 207, 208, 218-220.

which there are two boats. In the next register is another sanctuary with a sacred bird, similar to one of the figures on the mace of Nar-Mer; before the temple is a bull hastening into a net, fastened to the ground with two pegs, thus recalling a scene of the Vaphio goblets. The two lower registers are occupied by figures of boats and by inscriptions.[1]

On another tablet, that of the king Den-Setui, (or Semti or Hesepui), we find a similar scene to that on the mace of Nar-Mer. The king is seated under a slight canopy, on a platform, to which access is afforded by a ladder. Before this small pavilion the king himself again appears, framed in two groups of three "crescents," performing a dance.[2] This scene, as well as that of the Hierakonpolis mace, has been recognized as a representation of the feast of Heb-Sed, which was celebrated throughout the whole duration of the history of Egypt.[3] A fragment of a plaque with the name of the same king shows the king walking, holding the staff and mace, and preceded by the standard of the jackal Anubis or Apuat.[4] Here we feel that we are approaching very closely to the classical representations of the Pharaoh, such as we find in the first place on the rocks at Wady Maghara, in Sinai. An ivory plaque in the MacGregor Collection, with the name of King Den, is especially instructive on this point.[5] Special stress must be laid on the important discovery of M. Weill, who has succeeded in identifying the king of one of the bas-reliefs at Sinai with King Mersekha of the first dynasty.[6]

[1] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. pl. iii. *a*, x. and pp. 21, 51. NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, ii., *loc. cit.* xxiv. 1902, p. 120.

[2] PETRIE, *ib.* i. pl. xi. 14 = xv. 16, and pp. 22, 40, 41.

[3] MORET, A., *Du Caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, fig. 86, p. 262. Dr. Budge, who regards the seated figure as Osiris, draws from it curious conclusions. See BUDGE, *The Book of the Dead* (*Books on Egypt and Chaldea*), London, 1901, i. pp. xxxiv.-xxxvii.; *A History of Egypt*, i. p. 194-198.

[4] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. pl. x. 84 = xiv. 9, and p. 21.

[5] SPIEGELBERG, *Ein neues Denkmal aus der Frühzeit der ägyptischen Kunst*, in the *Zeitschrift fur ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, xxxv. 1897, pp. 7-11, and fig.

[6] WEILL, *Un nom royal égyptien de la période thinite au Sinaï*, in the *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 1903, pp. 160-162; *Inscriptions égyptiennes du Sinaï*, ii., *Les bas-reliefs thinites du Ouady Magharah*, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1903, ii. pp. 230-234. M. Naville questions the reading

Finally on Fig. 190 there are various other fragments representing captives, servants, and possibly the vanquished, bringing tribute and rendering homage to their conqueror.[1] The resemblance between these captives and those on the slate

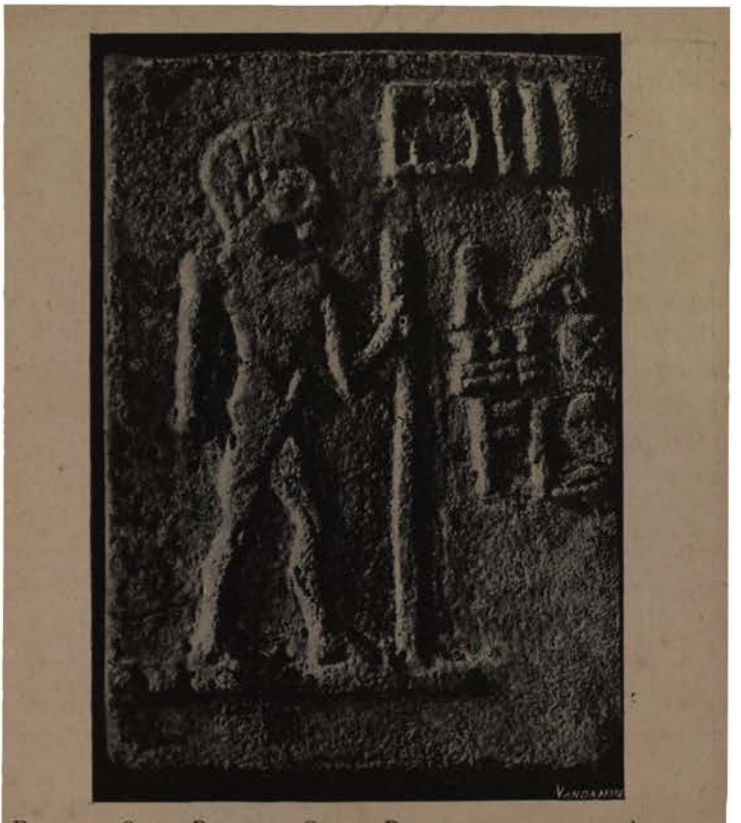


FIG. 191.—SMALL PLAQUE IN GLAZED POTTERY DISCOVERED AT ABYDOS.

palette of Oxford and of the British Museum is important to note, as also the representation of the personage in the long

of the name of this king and also the position that he occupies in the dynasties; he reads Khesket, and considers he is not earlier than the second dynasty. See NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, iii., *loc. cit.* xxv. 1903, pp. 219, 220.

[1] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, ii. p. iii. *a*, 1, 2, and iv. 4-6, 11, 12, and pp. 21, 22. A fragment which fits on to that published by Petrie, pl. iv. 11, was discovered earlier by Amelineau. See AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, 1895-6, *Compte rendu in extenso*, Paris, 1899, pl. xlii. and p. 307, where the fragment is described as being on plate xli. It is now in the Brussels Museum.

mantle on the same piece. The strange method of arranging the hair which we notice on Fragment 5 of our figure is seen also on two of the Hierakonpolis maces. Petrie, in his classification of the archaic races of Egypt, is inclined to see in these figures

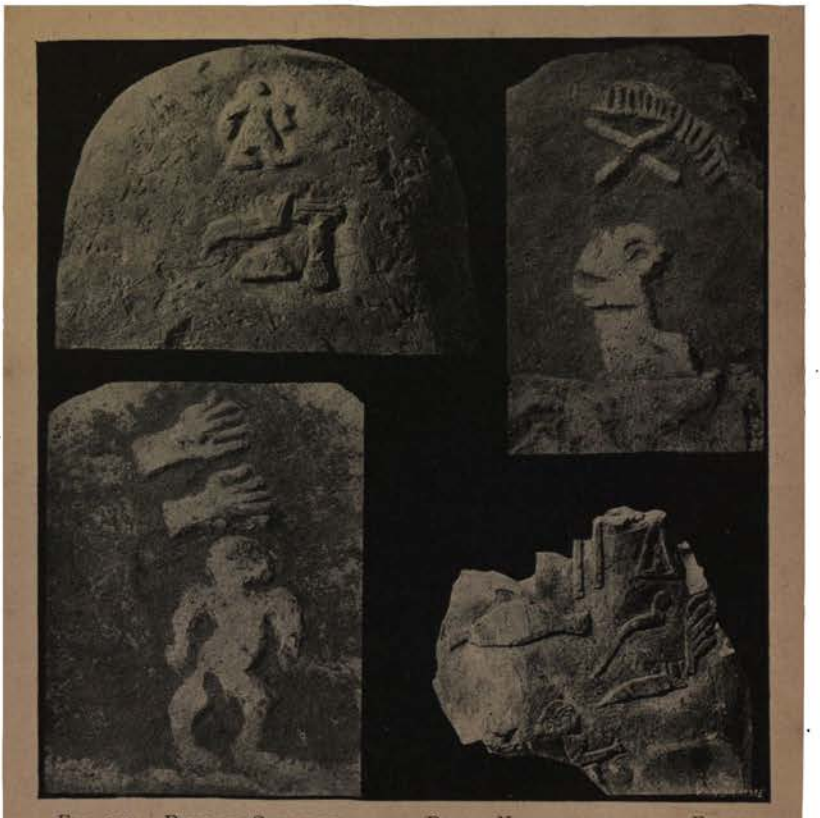


FIG. 192.—PRIVATE STELÆ FROM THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS OF THE FIRST DYNASTY AT ABYDOS.

men of the hill tribes of the eastern desert (Gebel Dorkhan and Gebel Ataka).[1]

An object which is very curious as regards style was discovered in the course of Petrie's excavations at Abydos during the winter 1902-3. It is a small plaque or tile of green glazed pottery, bearing in low relief a figure of a man walking, his

[1] PETRIE, *The Races of Early Egypt*, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxi. 1901, p. 253, and pl. xix. 13, 15.

staff in his hand. An inscription, also in relief, occupies part of the space left unoccupied in front of the figure (Fig. 191). Petrie writes thus on the subject: "It has no groove or dovetail on the back, but is quite plain; it does not seem, therefore, to have been intended to insert in a wall, but rather as if made for a votive offering. The figure is of a low type, the negroid variety of the prehistoric people, and neither of the pure Libyan or dynastic races. From the inscription we must attribute him to the Anu, who are known as an aboriginal people in Egypt. He appears to be a chief called Tera-Neter, 'devoted to God,' of the fortress of the Anu in the town of Hemen."[1] The reading of the hieroglyphic inscription is very uncertain, at least as regards several of the signs of which it is composed.[2] The extreme rudeness of the modelling recalls the carving in low relief on the private stelæ discovered round the royal tombs at Abydos, of which we give some specimens[3] (Fig. 192).

If it were desirable to characterize in a few words this series of objects, it might be said that they betray indecision. The artist appears to hesitate as to the manner in which he should dispose of his figures; the hieroglyphs are carved without order, very different from the fine regularity of the inscriptions of the Ancient Empire. These objects betray the awkwardness of the mason, who copies signs without understanding their meaning. The variants of the same sign are considerable, and the publication of hieroglyphs of the first dynasty, announced by Mrs. Petrie, will strongly emphasize this fact. The contrast is striking when one examines the hieroglyphs on the royal stelæ of the first dynasty, which have not at any age been surpassed for dignity and beauty.[4]

It was evidently at this period that the fusion occurred between the primitive art and that which the Pharaonic Egyptians may have possessed at the commencement of their occupation of the Nile Valley. It was at this time also that the Egyptian style

[1] PETRIE, *Abydos*, ii. pl. i. v. 33, and p. 25.

[2] *Athenæum*, October 24th, 1903, p. 544.

[3] PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, i. pl. xxx.-xxxvi.; ii. pl. xxvii.-xxx. *a*.

[4] *Ib.* i. frontispiece; ii. pl. xxxi. AMELINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos*, 1895-6, p. xlii.

first declared itself in the royal workshops, before it was possible to impress it on the whole of the recently acquired and unified kingdom. Long afterwards, on the private stelæ, one can detect the same opposition to official Pharaonic art.[1] As a typical example I will quote a stela in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, of a person named *Hekenen*. A priest of the *double*, mentioned on the stela, bears the name of *Persen*, a name which occurs on inscriptions of the fourth and fifth dynasties[2] (Fig. 193).

The same rivalry which we have observed in the case of carving in relief as existing between the official Pharaonic art

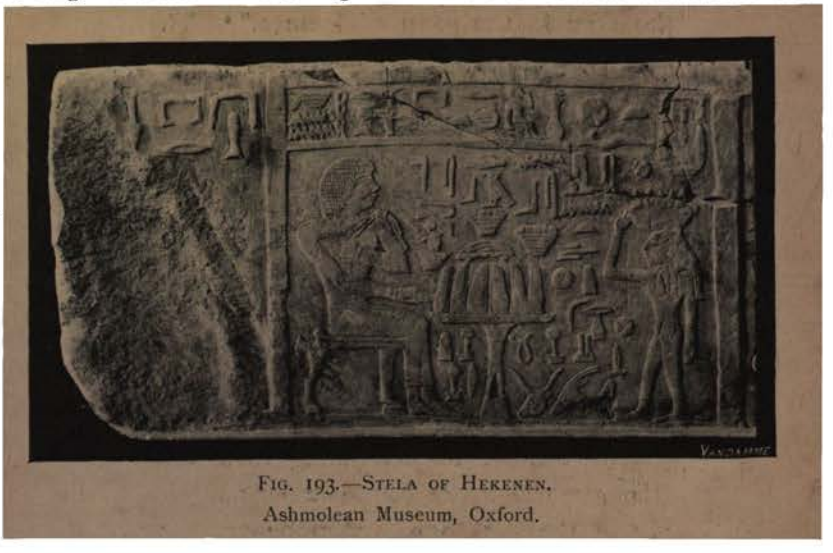


FIG. 193.—STELA OF HEKENEN.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

and that of private individuals, may also be found in the statuary, at least during the three first dynasties. The excavations at Hierakonpolis have furnished us with proofs of this. Two statues were found representing a man, one knee on the ground, and of a somewhat strange type. Of these one only proved possible to preserve, and it is now at the Cairo Museum.

[1] See SCHWEINFURTH, *Die neuesten Gräberfunden in Ober-Aegypten und die Stellung der noch lebenden Wüsten-Stämme zu der altägyptischen Bevölkerung*, in the *Verhandlungen der berliner anthropologischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, pp. 184, 185, where the author speaks of "Bauernkunst" and "Herrenkunst."

[2] DE ROUGÉ, *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, p. 53. LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 83. MARIETTE, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, pp. 299-301, Paris, 1899.

The man wears his hair cut short above the shoulders. This mode of cutting the hair and the short beard resembles, as Petrie remarks,[1] the type of one of the standard bearers on the great palette of Nar-Mer. The clothing consists of a girdle to which narrow strips are attached, which hang down between the

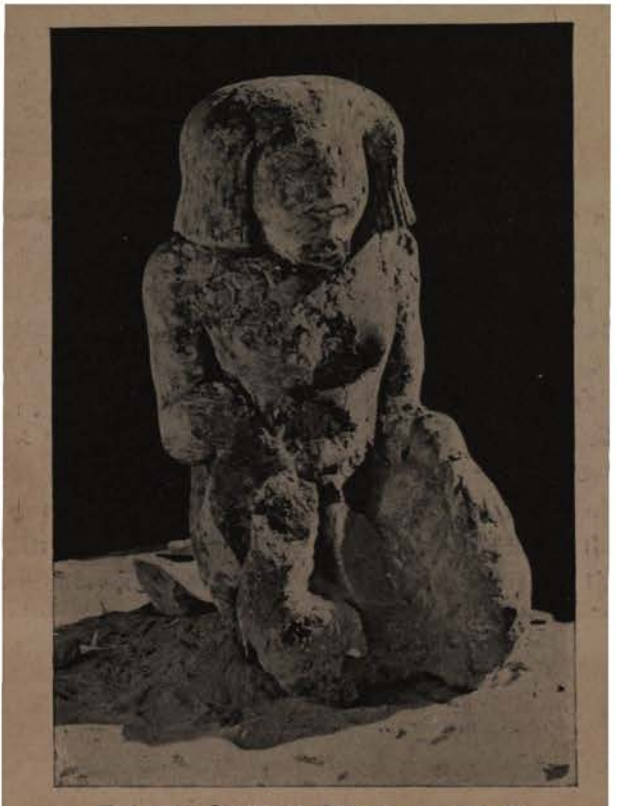


FIG. 194.—LIMESTONE STATUE OF A LIBYAN.
Cairo Museum.

legs, a costume which is found on the palette of Nar-Mer and on the bas-reliefs of the Ancient Empire.[2] Professor Schweinfurth draws special attention to the shortness of the neck, which appears to agree exactly with the length of the head, and the considerable

[1] In QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. p. 6.

[2] CAPART, *La fête de frapper les Anou*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xliii. 1901, p. 255.

development of the lips.[1] From the ethnographic point of view, Dr. Petrie considers that the type presents elements other than Libyan and Negro (Fig. 194).[2]

This is not the case with another crouching statue, of which the head only could be preserved (Fig. 195), where the same scholar definitely recognizes the mixed Negro-Libyan type. "The short half curly hair and the thick projecting lips clearly come from the Negro; while the long face and well-formed nose are due to Libyan blood."[3] The eyes are inlaid, and no

FIG. 195.—HEAD OF A LIBYAN IN LIMESTONE.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

trace of colour can be distinguished. Dr. Petrie records that while travelling he met an individual who was absolutely identical in type. He learnt from him that he was from America, obviously from the Southern States, and of Negro-European origin.[4]

A comparison should be made between the first of these

[1] SCHWEINFURTH, *loc. cit.* p. 184, and fig. pp. 182, 183.
[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. ii. p. 6; ii. pl. i. and p. 35.
[3] In QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. p. 6, and pl. v. vi.; ii. p. 36.
[4] PETRIE, *The Rise and Development of Egyptian Art*, in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, xlix. 1901, p. 594.

statues and one at the Cairo Museum (No. 1) which M. Maspero attributes to the third dynasty. He has made some remarks on this subject which I consider necessary to give here. "The workmanship," he says, "is archaic, but still more coarse than

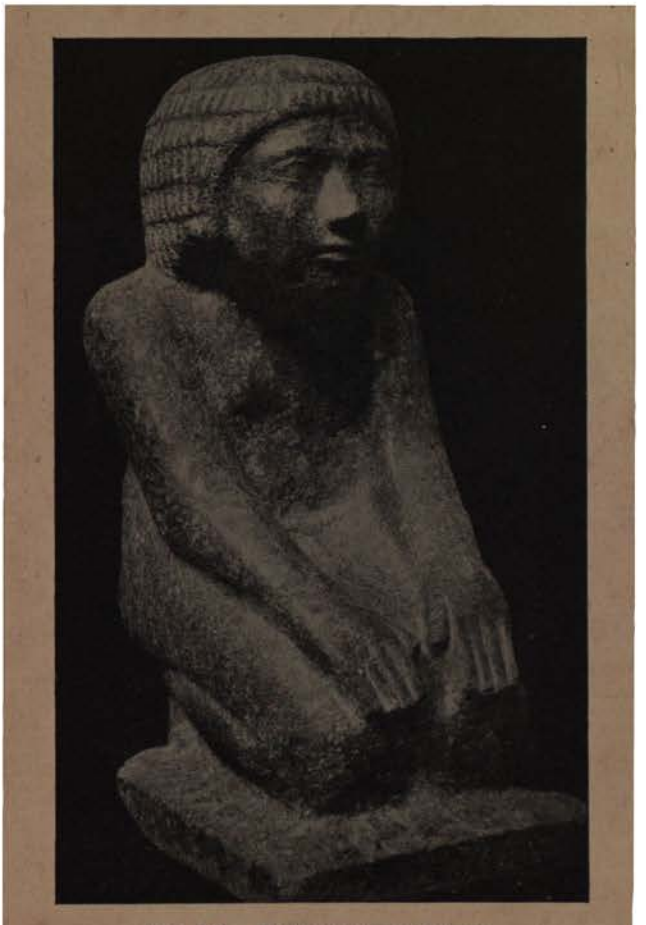


FIG. 196.—BLACK GRANITE STATUE.
Cairo Museum.

archaic. One knows what differences in technique and in style may be presented by works belonging to the same reign, according to whether they were executed in the immediate vicinity of the sovereign, in a large civilized town, or in a locality remote from

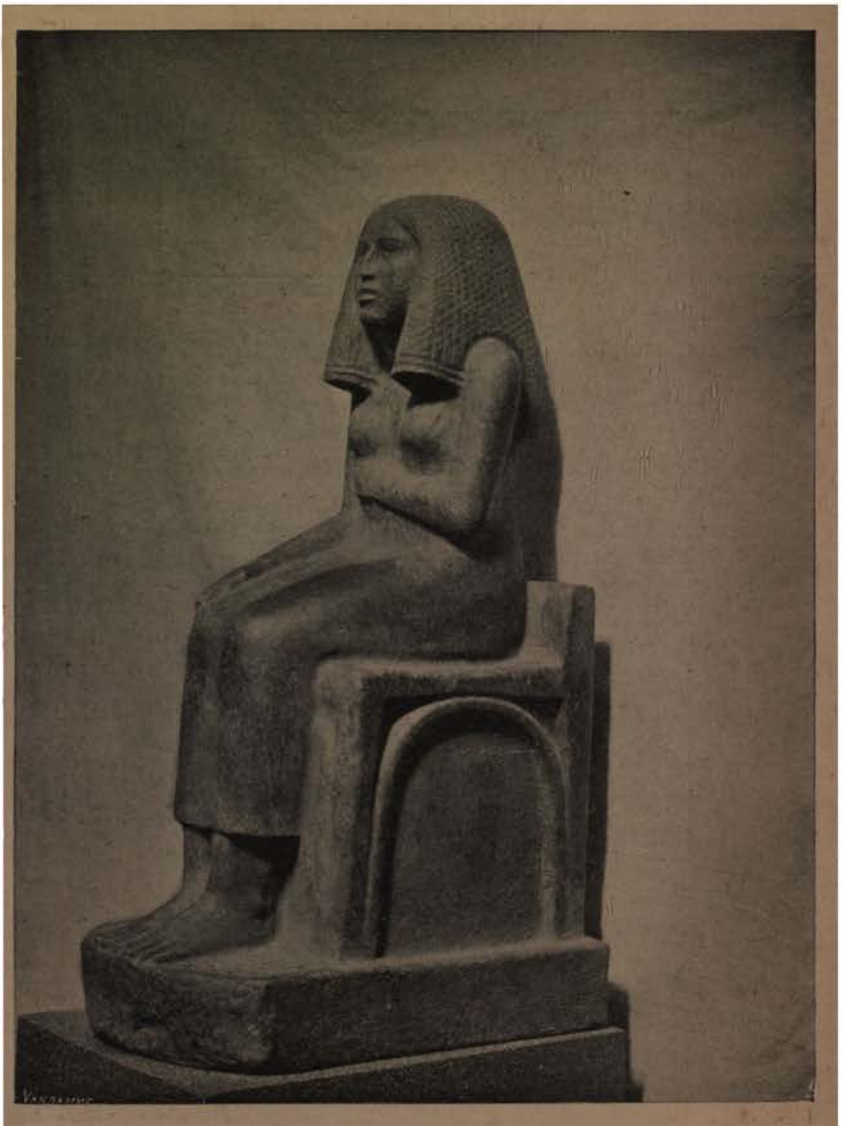


FIG. 197.—STATUE OF A PRINCESS IN THE TURIN MUSEUM.

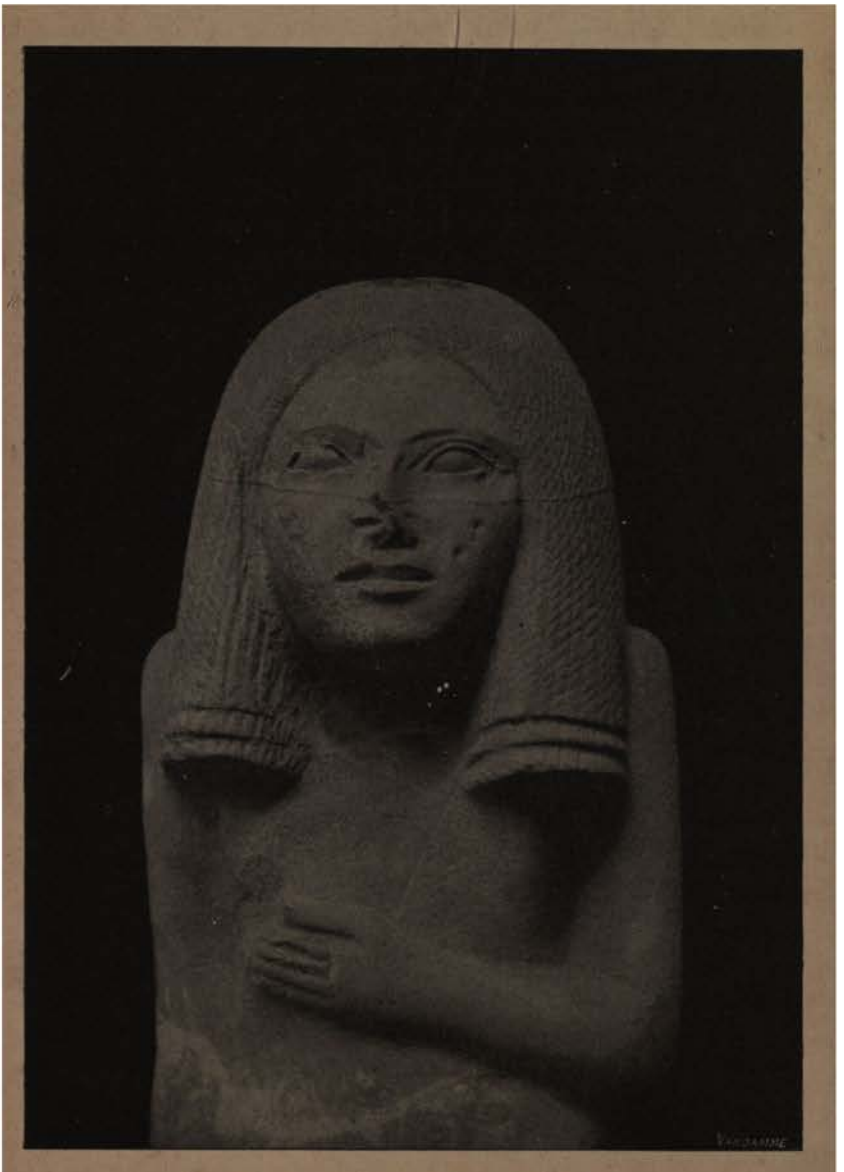


FIG. 198.—STATUE IN THE BRUSSELS MUSEUM.

the court. . . . In order to appreciate the relative antiquity of any object it is necessary to take into consideration the locality from whence it comes, and the importance of that locality at the time when the object was made. Memphis, or the town which preceded it, was very obscure before the fourth dynasty, and royalty did not yet reside there. One must not, therefore, be astonished if its monuments are ruder than those discovered in cities frequented by the Pharoah—Thinis-Abydos or at Kom el-Ahmar, for example—and it would be a mistake, in comparing them with the carefully executed bas-reliefs of Khâsakhmui, or with the palettes dedicated by Besh, to conclude from their inferiority that they are far older than the latter objects. Our statue is a provincial work, and perhaps its importance lies in the fact that it does not so much indicate a remote antiquity as that it is a proof of the want of skill of the artists who were then living in the Memphite nome"[1] (Fig. 196).

It is impossible better to express the dualism that existed between these rival arts; the official art, *the art of the masters*, and the art of the subject, *the peasant art*, to adopt Schweinfurth's expression. The peasant art is the logical sequence of the art of the primitive population, and at the commencement of the Egyptian occupation, it was not radically transformed except in the immediate neighbourhood of the residence of the ruler. A similar phenomenon might be proved in the history of the rise of Theban art, when the political power was moved to Thebes, from Memphis. Quite recently, Professor Spiegelberg of Strasbourg has published an excellent history of Egyptian art, where he explains its successive developments by the constant struggle between *popular art* (Volkskunst) and *the art of the court* (Hofkunst), between *profane art* (Profankunst) and *religious art* (Religösekunst).[2]

[1] MASPERO, text of *Le musée égyptien*, i. p. 13. The statue is figured on pl. xiii. See also DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les origines*, ii. pl. iv. and pp. 253, 254.

[2] SPIEGELBERG, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst im Abriss dargestellt*, Leipzic, 1903. I include under the name of "profane art" artistic works created by the popular religion, following the beliefs of primitive times, in opposition to the official religion of the Pharaonic invaders.

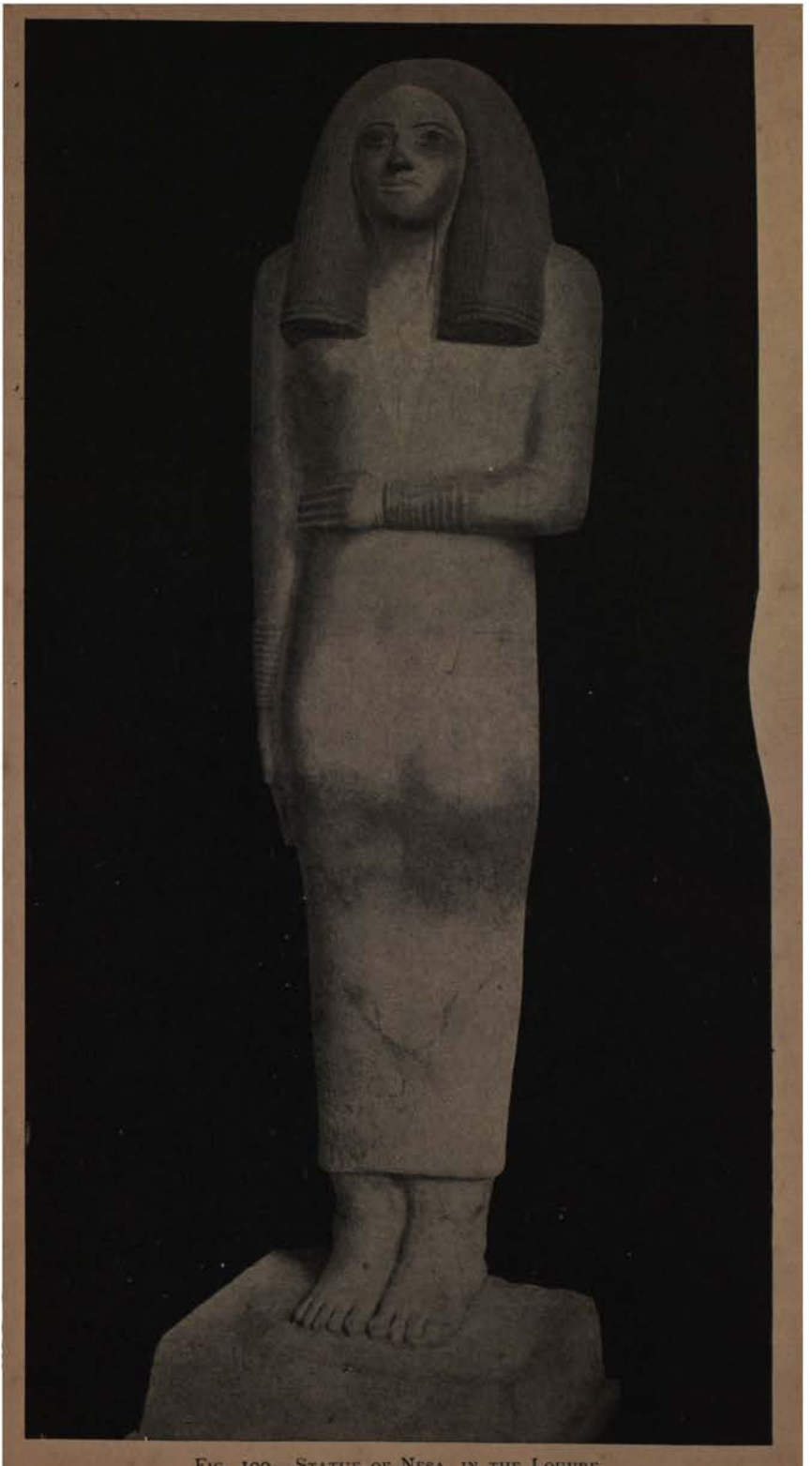


FIG. 199.—STATUE OF NESA, IN THE LOUVRE.

FIG. 200.—STATUE OF KHÂSAKHMUI.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

With the statue of the Cairo Museum, there must be connected a whole series of sculptures, to which I have alluded at the commencement of this book. They are the archaic statues preserved in various European museums—Bologna, London, Berlin, Turin, Leyden, Brussels, Naples, and Paris. These lead us on by gradual gradations to the realistic masterpieces of the fourth and fifth dynasties.[1] We give various specimens of them in Figs. 197 to 199.

There is another object which should be mentioned, a stone door sill or socket found at Hierakonpolis, decorated with a human head. Here the artist evidently intended to represent a captive crushed by the weight of the door.[2]

We have now seen the sculpture of the first dynasties with the exception of the official works of art. Up to the present the royal statues are only know to us by two specimens. They are sufficient, however, to show the wide difference that existed between them and

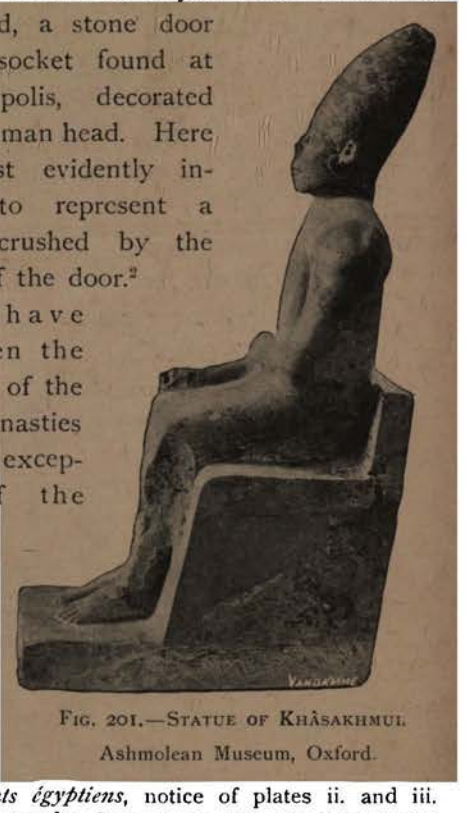


FIG. 201.—STATUE OF KHÂSAKHMUI.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

[1] CAPART, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens*, notice of plates ii. and iii. STEINDORFF, *Ueber archäische ägyptische Statuen*, in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, in the *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Institut*, viii. 1893, pp. 64-66.

[2] QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. iii. and p. 6; ii. p. 36.

the private sculptures—a difference analogous to that which we have already established in the carving in relief. These two statues were discovered at Hierakonpolis, and bear the name of a king who appears to have reigned towards the end of the second dynasty or the beginning of the third[1] (Figs. 200, 201, 202).

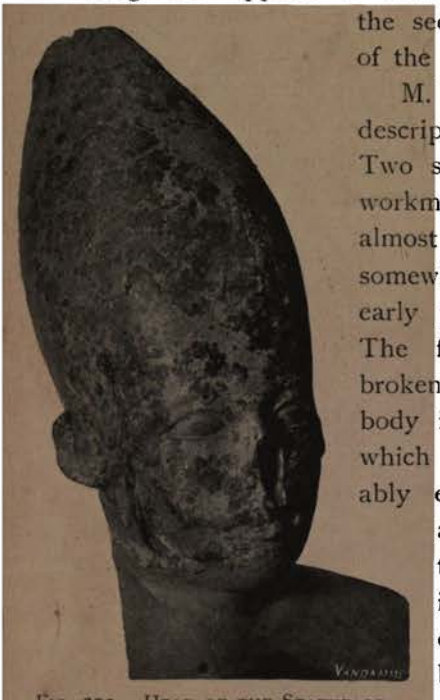


FIG. 202.—HEAD OF THE STATUE OF KHÂSAKHMUI.
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

M. Weill has given a very precise description of these statues. ". . . Two small seated statues, of strange workmanship, so delicate as to be almost fragile, exceedingly unlike the somewhat massive statuary of the early part of the Ancient Empire. The first statue, of limestone, is broken, and the upper part of the body is missing; the head, part of which has been recovered, is remarkably expressive, young, melancholy, and serious. The attitude and the costume are the same as in the other statue, which is of slate and almost intact. The body is draped in a flowing garment widely open on the chest, with sleeves which cover the arms to the wrist. . . . The left arm is folded over the body, and the right hand rests on the knee and holds the end of a sceptre. On the head is the great white crown. . . . The bases of both statues are surrounded with unconventional designs engraved with the point, which represent the routing of multitudes and figures of men overthrown in singularly unexpected and varied positions. The

[1] MASPERO, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, English ed. 1904, p. 244. NAVILLE, *Les plus anciens monuments égyptiens*, iii. *loc. cit.* xxv. 1903, pp. 237-239, "of the third dynasty." PETRIE, *History of Egypt*, i. 5th ed. 1903, pp. 27, 27*, 28, 28*, 29, who distinguishes two kings, the eighth and ninth of the second dynasty. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. p. 5: "After the first dynasty, and probably not before the middle of the second"

numbers of the slain enemies are also recorded on these small tablets, and in front of the feet of the statue there is the cartouche of the Horus Khâsakhmui."[1] It has been remarked that the eye is painted with lines of colour continuing to the ear, a fashion which, according to a theory published some years ago by Borchardt, did not make its appearance until the sixth dynasty.[2] These painted lines, which are obvious in the photograph taken at the time of the discovery, have now left only a few traces on the surface of the stone, a fact which may be ascertained by examining the Figs. 200, 201 and 202, taken from the original at the Ashmolean Museum. It is probable that an attentive study of the royal statues of Hierakonpolis would throw fresh light on the question of the age of the royal statues of the fourth dynasty at the Cairo Museum, and that this study would to some extent modify the conclusions arrived at by several scholars.[3]

FIG. 203.—POTTERY FIGURE OF A LION.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

We have already observed the frequent occurrence of figures of animals in the primitive period, and with what perfection

[1] WEILL, *Hieraconpolis et les origines de l'Égypt*, in the *Revue archéologique*, 1902, ii. p. 123. QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pl. xxxix.-xli. and p. 11; ii. p. 44.

[2] BORCHARDT, *Ueber das Alter des Sphinx bei Giseh*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, xxxv. 1897, pp. 752-755.

[3] BORCHARDT, *Ueber das Alter der Chefrenstatuen*, in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde*, xxxvi. 1898, pp. 1-18.

FIG. 204.—UPPER PART OF THE IVORY FIGURE OF CHEOPS.

Cairo Museum.

the artist seized the character of each kind of animal he represented. Beside the fine ivory dog, an illustration of which is given on Fig. 145, the excavations at Hierakonpolis yielded a magnificent figure of a lion in red pottery. The circumstances in which it was found enable it to be assigned without any serious hesitation to the period which precedes the fourth dynasty.[1] Fragments of figures of the same material and technique have, according to Dr. Petrie and Mr. Quibell, been found at Koptos, at the Ramasseum, at Medinet Habu, and at Abydos.[2] The comparison made by Mr. Quibell between the Hierakonpolis lion and the lion figures which decorate a table of offerings at the Cairo Museum, adds a powerful argument in support of those who attribute this lion statue to the archaic period.[3] Better than any description, Fig. 203 will enable the reader to appreciate the vigour with which this fine piece of work has been executed.

We have thus rapidly passed in review the principal monuments which can be attributed to the period which separates the primitive Egyptians from those contemporary with the fourth dynasty. Before attempting to draw conclusions from the collected results of our researches, we should briefly examine the evidence which enables us to gain at least some idea of the arts of movement in primitive Egypt—dancing, music, and poetry.

But before closing this chapter I cannot resist the pleasure of reproducing here three views of the head of a small ivory figure, discovered during the winter 1902-3 at Abydos, and which gives us a portrait of King Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid at Gizeh[4] (Fig. 204). As M. Maspero wrote, in an article published in 1901: "Barely six years ago Egyptian history could penetrate no further than the age when the Great

[1] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xlvii. and p. 45.

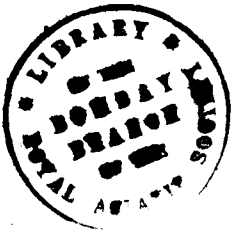
[2] PETRIE, *Koptos*, pl. v. and p. 5. See QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. pp. 11, 12.

[3] BORCHARDT, *loc. cit.* xxxvi. p. 5, fig. 3. WIEDEMANN, *Compte rendu* of QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i., in the *Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, iii. 1900, col. 333; *Zur Nagada Periode*, *ib.* col. 85.

[4] PETRIE, *Abydos*, pl. xiii. xiv. and p. 30. *The Ten Temples of Abydos*, in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, No. 642, November 1903, fig. 6, and pp. 839, 840.

Pyramids were built. The Colossi of Gizeh appeared to interpose their bulk between the plane of the world in which we live and the remote distance of bygone ages. . . . The pick of the excavator has suddenly made a breach in the obstacle which hid the primitive dynasties from our view."[1] That which only a short time ago appeared to be the starting point of a world, may now be regarded with certainty as the result of the evolution of an entire civilization.

[1] MASPERO, *Les premiers temps de l'histoire d'Égypte d'après les découvertes récentes*, in *The Lotus*, Alexandria, No. 4, July 1901, p. 185.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CHAPTER VI.

DANCING, MUSIC, AND POETRY.

IN the origin of the arts of repose—decoration, painting, and sculpture—we have found a utilitarian purpose which was generally magical. A study of the arts of movement—dancing, music, and poetry—leads us to the same result. We must not afford ourselves the long delay necessary to a complete and detailed demonstration of this; it will be sufficient to quote some typical instances.

An old historian of Madagascar informs us that, "While the men are at the wars, and until their return, the women and girls cease not day and night to dance, and neither lie down nor take food in their own houses. . . . They believe that by dancing they impart strength, courage, and good fortune to their husbands. This custom they observe very religiously."[1]

"Similarly, among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, while the men were on the war-path the women performed dances at frequent intervals. Those dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. The stick with this hooked end was the one supposed to be the best adapted for the latter purpose. The women always pointed their weapons toward the enemies' country."[2]

[1] FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, i. p. 31.
[2] *Ib.* i. addenda p. 465.

Lucien observes: "You cannot find a single ancient mystery in which there is not dancing. . . . This much all men know, that most people say of the revealers of the mysteries that they 'dance them out'" (ἐξορχεῖσθαι). Clemens of Alexandria uses the same terms when speaking of his own "appalling revelations." So closely connected are mysteries with dancing among savages, that, when Mr. Orpen asked Qing, the Bushman hunter, about some doctrines in which Qing was not initiated, he said, "Only the initiated men of that dance know these things."[1]

We must also keep in mind the animal dances of Australia, and the dances performed at funerals among most savage nations.[2]

These dances are almost invariably accompanied by very primitive musical instruments. Some of these are intended to give rhythm to the movements, and most frequently they consist of instruments of percussion, of sonorous wood struck in cadence, tambourines, etc., which simply serve to supplement the clapping of hands.[3] Others have a somewhat different origin. Speaking broadly, one might say that they are intended to produce by vibration a buzzing or a hissing, in which the primitive mind would see something sacred or mysterious. As an instance of this we must quote the bow, the *gora* of the Kaffirs and Bushmen,[4] and, above all, the "bull-roarer" or "Schwirrholz," the geographical distribution of which is so wide.[5] Occasionally the instruments are intended to drive away evil spirits during the celebration of ceremonies; the sistrum is one of these.

Another characteristic fact is that in certain parts of Africa the chief is accompanied on his expeditions by a band of

[1] LANG, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, new edition, London, New York, and Bombay, 1899, p. 272.

[2] See, for example, KINGSLEY, MARY H., *Travels in West Africa*, London, 1900, p. 331.

[3] See, on this subject, the book by BÜCHER, *Arbeit und Rythmus*, 2nd ed. Leipzic, 1899.

[4] DENIKER, *Les races et les peuples de la terre*, figs. 70, 71, pp. 250 251, and fig. 135, p. 495.

[5] FRAZER, *The Golden Bough*, iii. p. 424, note. LANG, *loc. cit.* p. 272. COOK, A. B., *Les Galets peints du Mas d'Azil*, in *l'Anthropologie*, xiv. 1903, pp. 657-659. SCHURTZ, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipsic, 1900, p. 50 *et seq.* and p. 512.

musicians. "Each performer, regardless of the discordance, blows rings, bangs, or rattles on his own account, interpreting a very short air which forms the dominant note in this direful din."[1]

Fetish men are often very skilled musicians.

There is no doubt that both music and dancing very rapidly acquired a pleasurable use in addition to their utilitarian and magical purposes. The various examples which have just been quoted show that there is no doubt as to the magical character of these arts in their origin, although in the special instances we meet with it may not be possible to determine precisely what is the object of the musicians or dancers.

Under various aspects we have already had occasion to refer to dancing scenes. I may mention first the Tukh statuette reproduced on Fig. 5, where the dancer has both arms raised above her head. The decorated vases have shown us figures of women in the same position (Figs. 91, 94). They are sometimes accompanied by men who appear to beat time to the dance by clapping pieces of wood together—a species of castanettes (Fig. 92). Two female figures from the painted tomb of Hierakonpolis, also, by the position of their arms, suggest these dancers (Fig. 162).

At funerals the dancing men and women were employed to execute dances, accompanied by lamentations; and if, with Professor Erman, we examine the representations in the tombs of the Ancient Empire, we shall at once recognize that this custom persisted long after the rise of Pharaonic Egypt.[2] The terracotta figures discovered in the Greek tombs show the same funerary dancers and mourners, and the appearance of this type in Egypt in the earliest times must certainly be of a nature to modify to an important extent the conclusions in a recent work by M. Collignon.[3]

[1] *Notes analytiques sur les collections ethnographiques du Musée du Congo* (*Annales du Musée du Congo*, Ethnographie et anthropologie, Série iii.), vol. i. fasc. i. pp. 17, 18.

[2] ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 245 *et seq.* "Dancers were almost always present at the *Feast of Eternity*—that is, the feast held in honour of the deceased."—P. 246.

[3] COLLIGNON, *De l'origine du type des pleureuses dans l'art grec*, in the *Revue des études grecques*, xvi. 1903, pp. 299-322.

On the earliest monuments of Pharaonic Egypt we have observed several instances of these religious dancers. They are to be seen on the Hierakonpolis maces (Figs. 186 to 188) and on the plaque of King Den (Fig. 190), to which the monuments of the Pharaonic age afford numerous parallels.

Without waiting to describe the scenes of funerary dancing in the bas-reliefs of Pharaonic Egypt, it appears to me that two of these representations should for a moment hold our attention.

In the tomb of Anta, at Deshasheh,[1] there is a series of men dancing, holding in their hands short curved sticks, which end

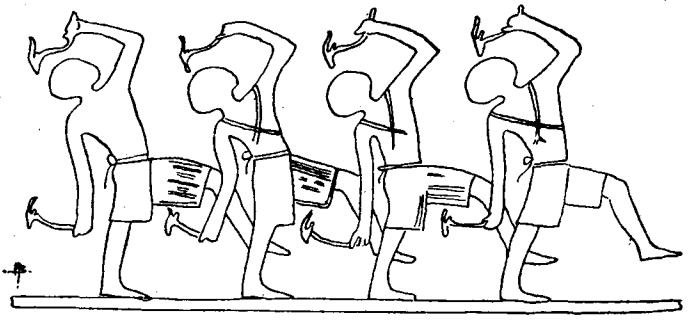
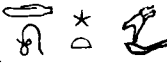


FIG. 205.—DANCERS FROM THE TOMB OF ANTA, AT DESHASHEH.

in gazelles' heads (Fig. 205). Dr. Petrie[2] has compared with these accessories of dancing certain fragments of decorated ivory found at Hierakonpolis, two specimens of which are shown in Fig. 109 among remains of personal property and furniture.

A fact which lends very special interest to this scene is that the Pyramid texts mention the people of the Tuat,  .[3] The determination of this name is composed of an arm holding an instrument which terminates in the head of a gazelle. We may, therefore, question whether the dancers of Deshasheh were not also people of the Tuat, and whether in the Egyptian period

[1] PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, pl. xii. and p. 8.

[2] In QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, i. p. 7.

[3] MASPERO, *La Pyramide du roi Pepi I.*, in the *Recueil de travaux*, vii. 1886, pp. 148, l. 245.

the task of performing funerary dances was not reserved for them. The people of the Tuat are the inhabitants of the Tuat, one of the underworlds of Egyptian mythology[1]; and in that case we should be witnessing the dance of inhabitants of that mysterious region. In the Tuat we are inclined to recognize the modern name of the oasis of Tuat, which is situated, it is true, at the north-west extremity of the African continent. This is not a unique example of tribes now extremely remote, who in ancient times were in close contact with Egypt. According to M. Lefébure,[2] several tribes appear to have left traces of migrations no less considerable (Macae and Maxyes, Berbers and Barabras, Numidians and Nobadae, etc.).

The conclusion to be drawn from these remarks would be that the region of the dead—the Tuat—may originally have been a real and actual country, and this result would fit perfectly with M. Maspero's researches as to the Great Oasis, the field of reeds, and those of M. de Chassinat on the Isle of the Double and the Land of the Manes.[3] We must rememher that as late as the eighteenth dynasty Libyan dances were still portrayed at Deir el Bahari.[4]

[1] I find in a recent work a strange piece of information, related by a traveller, which had not hitherto been given to the world, and which therefore may be of some importance. Writing of his visit to the royal tombs at Thebes, the author says: "Tous ces corridors sont remplis de peintures, de reliefs, qui représentent ce qu'il y a dans les livres de Thadès (*sic*), dans le Touat, ou, si vous le voulez, plus simplement dans l'enfer. La première fois que j'ai ouï parler de Touat, c'était à Tunis; je voyais un Touareg dont la présence causait un véritable événement, même parmi les indigènes. Sa figure, complètement voilée par une étoffe noire très épaisse, sa mise, son manteau d'un brun foncé causaient un vrai rassemblement. Quelqu'un du pays me dit: 'C'est un Touareg, c'est un diable vomi par l'enfer dont il porte le nom: Touareg vient de Touat, qui veut dire enfer.' Je conte cette anecdote qui m'a paru curieuse, sans me faire l'éditeur responsable de cette étymologie, et je reviens aux Égyptiens."—BARON DU GABE, *Échelles du Levant, Impressions d'un Français*, Paris, 1902, p. 84.

[2] Private letter of January 25th, 1903.

[3] MASPERO, G., *Le nom antique de la Grande Oasis et les idées qui s'y rattachent*, in the *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, ii. (*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, ii.), pp. 421-427. *Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes, ib.* p. 12 *et seq.* CHASSINAT, *Ça et là*, § iii. in the *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, xvii. 1895, p. 53.

[4] NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, iv. pl. xc. and p. 2: "It is curious that in other festivals the dancing is done also by these Africans, the Tamahu, as if

Among the numerous representations of dances observed and described by Professor Erman, there is one which shows women whose clothing is merely a loin-cloth, a garment reserved for the men, and whose hair is dressed in imitation of the white crown of Upper Egypt.[1] The dance executed by them is called "under the feet," and is simply a somewhat burlesque copy of the scene of the king raising his mace to strike the head of a vanquished barbarian, such as we observed on the great palette of Nar-Mer. The name of this dance, says Professor Erman, is taken from the saying of the king, which is ordinarily given on inscriptions accompanying this scene, that "all nations bound together are struck down beneath his feet."

FIG. 206.—STEATITE FIGURE FROM HIERAKONPOLIS.

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

This curious dance should apparently be compared with the similar scene on the painted tomb of Hierakonpolis (Fig. 162), and we thus acquire one more example of traditions uninterrupted from prehistoric times down to the twelfth dynasty.[2]

Professor Erman remarks that music consisted almost exclusively of accompaniments to dances. We have just mentioned the scene of castanette players on a prehistoric vase. Under the Ancient Empire we likewise observe flutes and harps as musical instruments presenting a funerary or religious character. In the excavations at Hierakonpolis[3] there was found a small seated figure in steatite (Fig. 206). Below the mouth

they had some national propensity to that art, like the Hungarian gipsies in modern times." See, in addition, LEFÉBURE, *La politique religieuse des Grecs en Libye* (extract from the *Bulletin de la Société de géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord*, 3rd and 4th trimestres, 1902), Algiers, 1902, vi., *Le caractère de la religion libyenne, côté orgiaque*, pp. 30-34.

[1] As Professor Wiedemann remarks to me, these dances are in reality pantomimes, the first germ of theatrical representations.

[2] Also later. See BÉNÉDITE, *Un guerrier libyen, figurine égyptienne en bronze incrusté d'argent, conservée au Musée du Louvre*, in the *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* (Fondation Piot), ix. 1903, p. 123 *et seq.*

[3] QUIBELL & GREEN, *Hierakonpolis*, ii. pl. xlviii. *b*, left-hand column.

a hole is pierced; the two arms, now broken off near the body, were outstretched, and it is probable that the figure was that of a flutist. This may be compared to the stone figures of the Greek islands belonging to the Aegean period, which represent a flutist and a harpist.[1]

If the funerary purpose of these musical instruments were questioned, a painted scene at Beni Hasan[2] might be quoted in proof (Fig. 207). On the side of the stela, which is in the form of a door representing the entrance intended for the use of the soul, various people are bringing offerings. The two lower registers are occupied by women engaged in a musical performance. Two play on the harp, while three others clap their hands in cadence as an accompaniment to the singing; behind, a woman is shaking a sistrum, while another is using a strange instrument. This is certainly intended for songs and music of a religious character, performed in honour of the deceased. The presence of the sistrum, an instrument used at ceremonies of the cult in order to drive away evil spirits, may suggest a similar use for the other instrument which accompanies it. It consists of a kind of small board attached to a stem, which revolves in a handle held by the performer. It must have produced a kind of deep buzzing sound.

In many countries an instrument is in use which is of the same character as our Egyptian apparatus. This is what English ethnologists term a "bull-roarer," and Germans a "Schwirrholz," terms which have no exact French equivalent. The "Schwirrholz," says Professor Schurtz,[3] consists of a long, thinnish piece of wood,

[1] PERROT & CHIPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, vi., *La Grèce primitive, l'art mycénien*, pp. 760-762, and fig. 357, 358. KOEHLER, *Prœhistorisches von den griechischen Inseln*, in the *Mittheilungen der kaiserlich deutschen archéologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, ix. 1884, pp. 156-162, and pl. vi. See a stone sarcophagus with painted scenes, discovered by Paribeni, near Phæstus, in KARO, *Altkretische Kultstätten*, in the *Archiv für Religionwissenschaften*, vii. 1904, p. 130, note 1. "Hinter dem Opfertisch steht ein Flötenbläser."—(Information communicated by M. J. de Mot.) Here is already the origin of the paintings of the Attic lecythi, where harpists and flutists are represented in their funerary ceremonies. See POTTIER, *Étude sur les lécythes blancs attiques á représentations funéraires* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. xxx.), Paris, 1883, specially pp. 73, 74.

[2] *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xii.; iv. pl. xvi. and p. 5.

[3] SCHURTZ, *Urgeschichte der Kultur*, Leipzic, 1900, p. 50.

which is either shaped like a fish, or decorated with engraved or painted ornaments. A string is fastened to the end, by means of which it is whirled round in the air, producing a buzzing noise.

We must add that the object thus described is never

FIG. 207.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, FROM A PAINTING AT BENI HASAN.

employed as an amusement, or to respond to any musical requirements. The tribes who use it consider there is something supernatural in the booming it produces, and it is principally used in the feasts for the dead, or in other ceremonies to which only the initiated have access.

I am very much inclined to see in the instrument depicted at Beni Hasan a musical instrument analogous to this "bull-roarer."[1]

We must also briefly notice the use of music, in general, for accompanying and regulating work done in combination. At the present day we still preserve this use for stimulating and regulating the march of soldiers. The Greeks made use of it to give a rhythmic swing to collective work. Also in reference to this point we can cite a group in terracotta from Bœotia, published by M. Pottier, who refers to the careful studies of Bücher on "work and rhythm."[2]

As an accompaniment to dancing and music the human voice is forced to submit to the obligations of rhythm. Thus the incantations or funerary songs of primitive people, habitually characterized by repetitions and assonances, are actual poems. The meaning of these is generally extremely obscure, and the various songs of savages which have been noted are not of a nature to give us a very high idea of the poetic instinct of primitive people. On the inscribed monuments of the Ancient Empire there are several songs which vary only slightly from these rudimentary poetic efforts.

It would be hazardous to attempt to assign a prehistoric origin to these Egyptian songs. Nevertheless, M. Maspero has translated from the Pyramid texts several incantations against serpents, to which he does not hesitate to assign a very remote antiquity. He thus writes on the subject: "The number of prayers and of formulæ addressed to venomous animals show with what terror the serpent and the scorpion inspired the Egyptian. Many of them are written in a language and with combinations of signs which do not appear to have been completely understood, even by the scribes under Unas and the two Pepi. For my part, I believe that they belong to the most

[1] CAPART, J., *Sur deux livres résents relatifs aux anciens hiéroglyphes et aux anciennes représentations figurées de l'Égypte*, in the *Bulletin de la Société d'anthropologie de Bruxelles*, xx. 1901-2, Brussels, 1903, p. xlii.

[2] POTTIER, *Les Sujets de genre dans les figurines archaïques de terre cuite*, in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, xxiv. 1900, pp. 519, 520, and pl. ix. BÜCHER, *Arbeit und Rythmus*, 2nd ed. Leipzic, 1899.

ancient ritual, and that they date back to a time before the reign of Mena. Some of them are evidently cadenced, and were probably originally the songs of snake-charmers; all of them may be included, more or less, in the class of what with us is called gibberish. 'The serpent entwines; it is the serpent that twines round the calf. Oh, thou that art on thyself, who issuest from the womb of the earth; thou hast devoured that which cometh forth from thee; serpent that descendest, lie down castrated! Fall, slave!' Here is one of the most comprehensible, from which the others may be judged!"[1]

We have now studied in succession all the classes of objects to which ethnologists have attributed an artistic character. We have, therefore, arrived at the conclusion of our study, and it only remains for us briefly to sum up the general results which appear to us to flow from it.

[1] MASPERO, *Premier rapport à l'Institut égyptien sur les fouilles exécutées en Égypte de 1881 à 1885*, in the *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, i. (*Bibliothèque égyptologique*, i.), pp. 153, 154. *La religion égyptienne d'après les pyramides de la V^e^ et de la VI^e^ dynastie*, in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xii. 1885, pp. 125, 126, where the same passage is reproduced word for word.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUSIONS.

IN attempting to draw general conclusions from the foregoing study, it appears to me that there are two different orders of ideas which we must take into consideration. In the first place, general ethnology; in the second—and this it is which has more special interest for us—the origin of Egyptian art as we find it at the commencement of the fourth dynasty.

From the ethnological point of view the results of the discoveries of the last few years appear to show that the artistic manifestations of primitive Egypt are closely allied with those of other nations which have been observed at an equal stage of civilization. In applying to the primitive inhabitants of the Nile Valley the theories and methods of M. Grosse, in *Les Débuts de l'Art*, there is nothing which forces us to modify these theories and methods, at any rate in their main outlines. In my opinion the evidence of these Egyptian discoveries enables us to establish the utilitarian origin of those manifestations, which we group together under the term "æsthetic." This utilitarian purpose is in almost every case confused with a religious, or rather with a magical, purpose. In this respect Egypt affords us most valuable evidence, as we can follow the development of beliefs, from their most rudimentary form, until in historical times they constitute an actual body of doctrine. But at this point we enter on the domain of special conclusions, and these require to be exhibited methodically.

At the beginning of this book we showed that at the commencement of the fourth dynasty Egypt had already developed: her language, writing, administration, cults, ceremonies, were all constituted. Another fact which struck us forcibly was the

extreme realism of the artistic productions, a realism which brought us face to face with this alternative; either art was imported into Egypt with all the other manifestations of civilized life—"Minerva issuing armed from the brain of Jupiter"—or else it was the result of a slow and progressive evolution, the work of several previous centuries. Here it is that the discoveries of the last few years come to our aid. Is the evidence which they have brought to light sufficient to allow us to decide on this question? The task of replying shall be left to more competent pens; but I am inclined to think that, before attempting to give categorical answers to this question, we should await the result of excavations which are now being carried on, and which will certainly occupy several years longer. In the meantime, it appears to me that the solution—if it is ever arrived at—will not be absolutely on one side or the other. We shall probably distinguish in the formation of art, as of the entire civilization of the Egyptians, many contributions from different sources.

Nevertheless, without feeling obliged to give numerous bibliographical references, I should like to sketch the problem of the commencement of art in Egypt, as it presents itself to my mind at the present time. I do not attempt to conceal the hypothetical character of this outline, which can only be definitely shown when the origins of Egyptian civilization are completely known—and, unfortunately, that day is yet far distant.

If we ask anthropologists to what race we should assign the earliest inhabitants of the valley of the Nile, we shall at the very commencement meet with a divergence of opinions and a multitude of contradictions.

From the palæolithic period, Egypt—or, rather, the cleft in the north-east plateau of Africa, which later was to be partially filled by the alluvial deposits of the Nile—was inhabited by tribes of nomadic huntsmen. The flints which formed their tools have been found either simply utilized by them or chipped into shape. It is also possible that some of those rude graffiti found on the rocks, which afford, as we have already said, such striking analogies with the graffiti of South Oran, may be their work. We may well suppose that there was originally a population

composed of black races, which were insensibly driven back towards the south by the white races, which "from earliest antiquity were settled on the Mediterranean borders of the Libyan continent, and who perhaps themselves came from Southern Europe. They would creep into the valley from the west or south-west."[1]

It is to these Libyan people that we should attribute the brilliant neolithic civilization which the prehistoric cemeteries have made known to us, and whose productions we have been studying in detail throughout the course of this book.

At different times we have had occasion to insist on the analogies which it has been thought might be established between this earliest Egyptian civilization and that of the Libyans of the historic period. Many of these must have been driven out of Egypt, and greater numbers, again, must by degrees have become "Egyptianized" by the Pharaonic invaders entering from another country. Under the earliest dynasties we frequently find the Libyans on the threshold of Egypt, and the earliest kings at war with them. An account of a journey undertaken at the time of the sixth dynasty tells us that the Libyans were established in the oases as far as the neighbourhood of the first cataract of the Nile. The string of oases extending along the valley of the Nile to the plateau of Barca remained entirely in the possession of the Libyans until the time of the twelfth dynasty.

This primitive Libyan civilization of the Nile Valley was frequently in communication with the Mediterranean civilization, perhaps actually by means of this route along the oases. The Greek traditions, referring to the relations of Greece and the Cyrenaica, need only a passing reference; at later times, when the maritime nations attacked Egypt, it was through the Libyan frontier that they penetrated into the country.

This fact is of itself sufficient to explain the intercourse so frequently established between the Egyptian primitive civilization and the Aegean civilization. The relations between these countries diminish after the conquest of the valley of the Nile

[1] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, 6th ed. Paris, 1904, p. 19.

by the Pharaohs until the twelfth dynasty, when they again occur frequently. Mr. Evans has noticed in Crete numerous facts which confirm this theory.[1]

These relations also explain the presence in Egypt of the black incised pottery and the "alphabetiform" marks which we have studied in an earlier chapter.

If we follow—as we have hitherto done—the sequence dates as originated by Dr. Petrie, we are forced to agree with that brilliant archæologist, in recognizing a decadence in the primitive civilization towards the end of the prehistoric period. There does not seem to me to be any difficulty in accounting for this. We see in it the result of the period of trouble and insecurity which accompanies the arrival of bands of invading foreigners. Were these invasions sudden, or the result of a gradual infiltration which continued many years, not to say centuries? Did these invaders arrive by one single road, or did they come, some by the Isthmus of Suez, others by the Upper Nile, or, again, by the desert which separates the Red Sea from the valley of the Nile? Did the invaders all belong to one and the same group of nations, or did they form part of groups which sprang perhaps from one race, but which had been separated for centuries? These are questions which cannot be answered without further evidence than we possess.

I am, however, disposed to believe in frequent invasions of successive groups, relatively few in number, penetrating into Egypt by different routes. I have already said in another publication that I believe, with E. de Rougé, that there are in the texts traces of a great tribe called the *Anu*, which must have occupied Egypt in the same manner as the Hyksos did later. It is probably to them that we should attribute those religious conceptions that had for their centre the town of Heliopolis, which, according to a tradition related by Pliny,[2] was founded by the Arabs.

[1] PETRIE, *Methods and Aims in Archæology*, London, 1904, p. 163 *et seq.*

[2] MASPERO, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, p. 16. Professor Wiedemann writes: "Nach einer späten Notiz war Heliopolis eine Gründung der Araber, worunter an der betreffenden Stelle ein semitischer Stamm zu verstehen ist, dieser Angabe könnte sehr wohl ein richtiger Kern zu Grunde liegen, und

It is probably also to this invasion of the *Anu* that the decadence in the primitive industries towards the close of the prehistoric period should be attributed. These industries did not, however, entirely disappear, and we have several times followed their footsteps in historical Egypt. Further than that, we have seen that there is nothing which permits us to entertain the belief that there was a hiatus, a sudden cleavage, between primitive Egypt and Pharaonic Egypt. On the contrary, analogies between them are so numerous that they have convinced certain writers that the Pharaonic civilization is only a development of that of primitive Egypt.

I think, rather, that this phenomenon should be attributed to the actual character of the invasions of the Pharaonic Egyptians. They are not the movements of nations who destroy and sweep away from before them a whole civilization, but rather a slow infiltration of groups of people of a higher civilization into a population which had already attained a certain degree of development. A point to be noted with regard to this is the strange power which the soil of the Nile Valley possesses of absorbing the invader, a power which has been recognized at all periods of its history. Foreigners have never changed the Egyptian population ; it is the country which has always rapidly transformed its invaders, and has adapted them to its environments. It is clearly as a result of this principle that the Pharaonic Egyptians were irresistibly influenced to continue the traditions of the primitive people, both in regard to art and in their religious and funerary beliefs.

At a given moment, however, there is a new element which appears in Egypt, and this it is which requires explanation.

On several occasions we have insisted on the contrast between the private and the royal monuments, between the style of the court and that of the people, between religious and profane art. We have also shown that the primitive Egyptians were not acquainted with hieroglyphic writing, and that it suddenly made

Heliopolis und sein Sonnenkult einer vorhistorischen Semiteneinwanderung in das Delta ihren Ursprung verdanken."—*Orientalistische Litteraturzeitung*, April, 1904, col. 146, 147.

its appearance thoroughly formed. This official style attached to an official religion, and this complicated system of writing, were brought into the country from without, completely constituted: this we may assert without hesitation. But from what country were they brought?

In these final pages I cannot enter into a complicated controversy, where anthropology and comparative philology almost alone can intervene. I can merely say that apparently the Pharaonic invaders came from Asia, perhaps from Yemen, and that they had common origin with the ancient Chaldeans. This theory would explain the analogies which are established between the earliest Pharaonic remains and those of Chaldea[1]—more especially, the use of cylinders, which disappeared fairly quickly in the Nile Valley. One fact is very clear: the Semites did not pass direct from Asia to the Nile Valley; they were "Africanized" before penetrating into Egypt, properly so-called. The clearest proof of this has been obtained by the examination of the fauna and flora represented in the hieroglyphs, the African character of which is striking. A glance at the map of Africa shows where the Semites must for a time have taken up their abode before penetrating into the valley of the Nile. The two coasts of the Red Sea, towards the southern end, resemble each other very considerably both in climate and in their productions. Any tribes leaving Yemen would naturally at first occupy a country differing as little as possible from the regions they had abandoned. A study of the population, the languages, and the customs of Ethiopia shows the close affinity which exists between that country and the south of Arabia. One part of these regions, situated on the coast, appears to have been designated by the Egyptians of the classical period by the name of *Punt*. The Egyptians, in writing the name of this country, did not follow it with the determinative sign of a foreign land; they called it the "Land of the Gods," and

[1] See HEUZEY, L., *Construction antérieure à Our-Nina, notes complémentaires d'après les decouvertes de M. de Sarzec*, viii., *Comparaisons avec l'Égypte primitive*, in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, v. 2, 1899, pp. 53-56.—Note contributed by Mr. Offord.

derived from it the origin of a certain number of their most ancient divinities. Also, the Egyptians at all times maintained pacific relations with this country, and when its inhabitants are represented on the monuments, they appear as a mixed race: the superior race is similar to the Egyptians in physical type, beard, and costume, while the other portion shows the same type crossed with negro blood. The earliest proof of the relations between Egypt and Punt is furnished by a representation of an inhabitant of Punt in the tomb of a son of Cheops of the fourth dynasty.[1]

A list of gifts to the temples, drawn up towards the end of the fifth dynasty, mentions enormous quantities of objects brought from Punt.

The journey from Punt to Egypt was very far from easy. By road it was necessary to traverse the desert regions of Upper Nubia, a formidable journey even at the present day. By water it was necessary, first of all, to reach the Nile by means of one of the valleys which extend from the Red Sea to the river. In historic times the route most frequently chosen was the Wady Hammamat, which unites Kosseir and Koptos. Now Koptos is precisely the site where Professor Flinders Petrie discovered what he considers to be the earliest remains that can be attributed to the dynastic race—the statues of Min. This route is long and dangerous. It could not have been accessible to hordes of human beings attempting a tumultuous invasion into the midst of tribes already civilized. It is this consideration which induces me to represent the arrival in Egypt of the dynastic Egyptians as a slow and progressive infiltration.

To return for a moment to our former subject, the Egyptian Semites had made a long stay on African soil before discovering and following the route to the valley of the Nile. There, in the country occupied by the Gallas, the Abyssinians, and the Somalis, we may one day hope to discover remains which will reveal the history of the development of Pharaonic civilization in the earliest periods of its evolution.

The invaders brought with them hieroglyphic writing illus-

[1] LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, ii. 23.

trating the language spoken by them. They also brought religious conceptions which were already extremely developed, and which constituted the basis of the official religion of Egypt at the classical epoch. Their funerary beliefs differed from those of the autochthones, so far, at least, as the destiny of the deceased kings was concerned; and perhaps we may here find the explanation of the absence in the royal tombs of representations similar to those that cover the walls of mastabas, and of which we have seen the prototype in a prehistoric tomb.

Egyptian ritual is constituted in the same manner. Representations, such as those on the palette of Nar-Mer and on the plaques of the royal tombs of Abydos, show how far this ritual already resembled that of later times. Connected with these religious and funerary beliefs and with this ritual we find a system of art which is already considerably advanced, and even to some extent already hieratic and fixed. This is the official art, which contrasts in such a striking manner with the naturalistic art of the primitive people.

What was the result of the contact of these two forms of art, arrived at such different stages of development and inspired with such contradictory tendencies? The answer to this question we have already indicated, and it is needless for us to insist greatly on this point. The meeting of these two systems produced that duality of art of which Professor Spiegelberg has again reminded us in so clear a manner by his recent publication.[1]

We shall find that the more widely the central power exerted its influence the more is the official art in favour. We can understand how it came about that under the Ancient Empire at the commencement of the fourth dynasty the private art is still so free and naturalistic, and in some measure we shall even be prepared to justify the remark made by Nestor l'Hote, quoted in the earlier pages of this book: "We know Egyptian art only in its decadence."

[1] SPIEGELBERG, *Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst im Abriss dargestellt*, Leipsic, 1903. See WIEDEMANN, *Winckelmann's Urtheil über die ägyptische Kunst und die Profankunst der alten Aegypter*, in the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, lxxvii. 1884 (separate reprint, p. 9 *et seq.*).

Our conclusions are as follows: Egyptian art, as it is revealed to us at the commencement of the fourth dynasty, appears to be composed of various elements. Primitive art, which had its birth in the north of Africa and developed during the course of centuries, was only to a small extent affected by foreign influences (Aegean and Anu?). This art, the principal object of which was utilitarian and magical, should by virtue of this very object represent nature with all possible fidelity. The funerary ideas which it was intended to serve may be found in their full development in the funerary beliefs of the Egyptian Empire, entirely dominated by the great formula of imitative magic, "Like acts on like."

The second element is the art of the Pharaonic Egyptians, of which the earliest stages of evolution still completely elude us. When it reaches Egypt it is thoroughly fixed, and serves to express religious conceptions of advanced development, which survive in Egypt, with only very slight modifications, until the close of the Pharaonic period.

The struggle between these two forms of art, and the reciprocal influence that they exerted upon each other, are similar to those we establish between the popular religion and the official religion, between official language and vulgar idioms. The story of the struggles in these various domains reaches back to the earliest period of the Ancient Empire.

I do not attempt to conceal the fact that these last pages bear a decisive character very far removed from the uncertainties which in reality are present in crowds, and I have hesitated greatly before allowing them to assume such a character. I hope I may not incur severe blame, after having brought some modest materials to the foot of the scaffolding, if I have indulged for a moment in a dream of a splendid palace which may one day arise, and of which perhaps they may form a part when utilized by an architect of genius.

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